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The Week

THE determination of the French Left parties to unseat President Millerand is easily understood. Millerand's sympathies are with the extrême Right. As compared with him, Poincaré was liberal. It was Millerand, rather than Poincaré, who was responsible for the Ruhr invasion, which plunged France as well as Germany into financial disorder. In the late electoral campaign Millerand threw all his influence on the side of the National Bloc. The victorious Radicals do not mean to leave the great powers of the Presidency in the hands of the enemy, if they can help it. If Millerand had accepted the rôle of figurehead his personal convictions might not have mattered. But ever since the day he entered office he has been working to aggrandize his powers. He has often been accused of aiming at a dictatorship. And it is by no means certain that, if left undisturbed, he might not build up a dictatorship out of the confusion that now prevails in French political life.

NEVERTHELESS, it is extremely unfortunate that a constitutional struggle should arise in France at this particular time. While the radicals are fighting Millerand, no progress is making toward the adjustment of the Franco-German difficulties. If the Dawes plan could have been put in operation promptly, the economic situation of western Europe would soon be on the mend. It now looks as if the adoption of the plan will remain in abeyance for several months, and time is all-important. There are plenty of indications that Germany is approaching an industrial crisis which will greatly reduce her capacity for paying. French finance is looking down. The franc keeps on sagging, and may be in for a terrific plunge unless both the domestic French situation and the international question are cleared up. If the franc loses the rest of the gains it has made since March 11, the question of a dictatorship will again have to be considered seriously.

IT will not be difficult technically to argue down the Japanese protest against the new immigration law. The provisions of the treaty of amity and commerce with Japan can not properly be stretched to cover the subject of immigration. The most favored nation treatment to which Japan is entitled covers the right of travel and trade, and the latter involves incidentally rights of residence. It does not cover the right of settling down and participating in our domestic economic life. Nor will our State Department find difficulty in dismissing the argument on the assimilability of the Japanese. On this point, each nation has to judge for itself. What lies behind the Japanese protest, however, is a feeling that cannot be dismissed with technically correct arguments. Alone of the non-white races, the Japanese have fought their way to a place of equality with the Western civilized powers. They have successfully challenged the claim of inherent superiority which the white peoples have flaunted for hundreds of years. Our immigration law embodies an official reassertion of that claim by the United States. And no strong arguments or soft words from Mr. Hughes will relieve the sense of injury the Japanese have conceived.

ONE of our correspondents has sent us a statement on the immigration question by Professor M. Anesaki of the Imperial University of Tokio. Pro-

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fessor Anesaki, who is a good friend of America and an ardent lover of peace, believes that the immigration act has dealt a grave blow to the cause of international amity. Two policies have long been at issue in Japan, one, to maintain the rôle of mediator between Europe and Asia, the other to place Japan at the head of Asia in antagonism to Europe. The former has prevailed down to the present. Our treatment of the Japanese in the immigration law will have the effect of strengthening the party which stands for Asia for the Asiatics. We have no doubt that Professor Anesaki is right in his diagnosis of Japanese feeling at the present time. It would be perfectly natural for the Japanese to turn first of all to other peoples that are aggrieved by the assertion of white race superiority. In the long run, however, Japan will align herself with those powers, white or colored, that can present the stiffest opposition to the English speaking peoples. She has already begun to court the French. In time she will compose her differences with Russia and wait for an opportunity to thrust the Americans and British out of Asia.

THERE are two documents which every orator who is preparing a Memorial Day address should be required to read and re-read and ponder deeply. One is, of course, Lincoln's Gettysburg address. The other is Pericles' Funeral Oration. Widely as they differ in all other respects, the American and the Greek are identical in the sincerity and profundity of devotion to the institutions of the countries in whose cause the men whose death is commemorated gave up their lives. Both Lincoln and Pericles felt that a gallant fight and a heroic death derived their essential beauty from the worth and majesty of a nation which embodied an ideal ennobling to mankind. This sense of a national ideal seems strangely lacking in most of the Memorial Day orators of the present time. General Pershing, for example, made of the occasion an opportunity to electioneer for his pet political reform, universal military service. Any feeling he may have for the significance of American institutions and life was submerged in a querulous discontent with a people who do not see eye to eye with the professional soldier on this political issue.

IT is a queer delusion that has got into the heads of a multitude of otherwise intelligent people that an emotion like patriotism can be created only by compulsion. Compulsory military service, Pershing imagines, would make patriots out of our young men. Congressman Bloom thinks that compulsory saluting of the flag will do it. Compulsory parroting by public school children of the American version of the causes of all the wars we ever fought, is widely believed to insure the growth of patriotism. Yet there is no historical example of patriotism created by compulsion. The Scots who bled with Wallace, the Swiss who fought with Arnold Winkelried, gave their love and their lives freely. Neither in the Greek cities nor in Republican Rome was there any compulsion to be patriotic, nor any dearth of examples of signal patriotic devotion. No compulsion has been involved in planting the love of old England in the British breast, or the love of la belle France in the Frenchman's. Is our country so devoid of beauty and worth that her children may not be expected to love her spontaneously? We leave it to militarists with battle axes to grind to make such an hypothesis plausible, if they can.

SECRETARY MELLON shows extraordinary political ineptitude, to say the least, by the manner in which he has treated the series of efforts to link him personally, with extensive violations of the prohibition law. He began, it will be remembered, by inspiring Coolidge's absurd message to Congress seeking to argue that a Senate investigation of the Treasury Department would somehow violate the Constitution. Next, when Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, in an address at the Methodist General Conference, connected Secretary Mellon's name with the illegal withdrawal of large amounts of whisky, the Secretary of the Treasury announced he would pay no attention to any such allegation until made in detailed and definite form. His latest accuser, Gaston B. Means, testifying before the Wheeler Committee, has asserted that Mr. Mellon aided the removal of liquor from bonded warehouses in order to help several banks to liquidate their "frozen credits." Means also declared that withdrawal permits were to have been sold and the proceeds used in part to wipe out the deficit of the Republican National Committee. These statements Secretary Mellon waves aside as "too absurd to deserve notice."

MR. MELLON, in other words, takes it for granted that public confidence in his probity is too firm to be shaken; and that he need not defend himself unless and until he is called upon to do so in court. We agree with him that Means's story about the deficit of the Republican National Committee appears on its face so fantastic as to be incredible; but we don't at all agree that the public confidence in Mr. Mellon is unshakable and that he need not take the trouble even to go through the motions of demonstrating his innocence. The incident of Secretary Fall is too fresh for that. Fall also asserted his innocence. He, too, declared the charges against him were so absurd as not to merit a reply. We do not say that there is any parallel between the case of Mr. Fall and that of Mr. Mellon. But we do insist that in the present state of public opinion a wise man, when serious charges are made against him, will not confine his action to insisting that they are nonsensical, and to endeavoring to limit and discourage investigation.

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AS we go to press it is not certain whether Congress will pass the bill introduced by Representative Sabath of Illinois, to take care of the unfortunate immigrants rendered subject to deportation by the Supreme Court decision in the Gotlieb case, which upheld the validity of the immigration quota law of 1921. Lower courts had held that the quota did not apply to the wife or dependent children of a legally admitted immigrant. Relying on these decisions, the immigration authorities have admitted many persons—according to some estimates, 20,000. Nearly all of these have now been in the United States a considerable time and have made their homes here. To deport them now would involve an even greater hardship than they would have suffered if they had been refused admittance. The Sabath bill would permit them to remain; a proposal which seems to us no more than just.

POLITICAL experts are aware that if President Harding had not died, Mr. Coolidge would probably not have been renominated as Vice-President. It was at once apparent, therefore, when the accident of death turned a political liability into the Republican party's chief asset that if his administration was to become a reality in the eyes of the voters, it must create at least one new policy of its own, unique and popular. These requirements were met, it was felt, when the Mellon tax plan was made public. The plan proposed, first, to save the taxpayers a large sum—more than $320,000,000 a year. Second, that it could be put forward at all was supposedly a demonstration that the government's finances were being run with efficient carefulness. And finally, it bore the name of the strongest member of the Cabinet, the silent capitalist from Pittsburgh, who had caught the country's imagination, being pictured as a plain business man, fallen among politicians but continuing to be plain and businesslike none the less.

NOT since the Liberty Loan days has any proposal emanating from Washington been accompanied by such a universal and deafening blare of publicity. The great conservative newspapers of the chief cities became almost hysterical in their support of the Mellon plan and their insistence that it should not be altered by so much as the omission of a single sacred comma. One magazine, the Literary Digest, spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in conducting a nation-wide referendum, the biggest thing of its sort ever attempted, which showed that of those who answered a large majority favored the plan. After weeks and months of such publicity, and after every possible resource of the White House had been put behind the Mellon bill, the test came. A tax law has been passed, and President Coolidge, after composing a long and vehement message of protest, has signed it.

IT is a law which differs widely from the Mellon plan. In fact, it had its genesis as a substitute for that measure. It is a law strongly denounced, before and after its passage, by Secretary Mellon and by most of the newspapers which had been on his side from the beginning. This new law, it should be noted, was not passed by the Democrats alone or by the progressives, but by the wheel-horses of the Republican party organization. The vote in the House on first passage was 406 to 80, and after conference, 376 to 9. Even the Senate vote on the latter occasion was 60 to 6; and four of these six votes were those of progressives who objected to the bill, not because it went so far, but because it did not go far enough. In other words, the one major issue on which President Coolidge sought to make his campaign resulted in defeat as disastrous and complete as it could very well be.

THERE are several interesting reasons for this. In the first place, Congress did not act alone. It heard from the country about the Mellon bill, though it is true that many Americans failed to perceive the class legislation in favor of wealth which it contained, and were misled by the skillfully-spread falsehood that we must choose between the Secretary's plan and no tax reduction at all. This propaganda had its effect; though on the other hand many people were made suspicious by the hysterical enthusiasm of the conservative press for the proposal. They felt that any plan which the capitalists believed to be so completely in their interest could not be in the poor man's as well. This suspicion deepened into a certainty in the minds of the progressive group in House and Senate as they were able to settle down to a sober study of the bill's provisions. Some possible support was alienated by Mr. Mellon's inflexibility. Just as a matter of human relationships, it is next door to impossible for the wealthiest or second wealthiest man in America to assume a conciliatory and persuasive attitude toward a number of "politicians" whom he probably regards as over-paid at $7,500 a year. The Secretary too clearly saw his plan as something handed down from Mt. Sinai; and since he wasn't willing to play with Congress, Congress wasn't willing to play with him.

MOST important of all in determining the attitude of Congress was its relationship with Mr. Coolidge. The breach between the legislative and executive branches is no new thing; but never in this generation has it been so marked as now. First, Mr. Coolidge is not by temperament a diplomatic person able to conciliate a hostile legislature. Second, the senators and congressmen recognize the accidental character of his elevation to the high office he holds, and see no reason why they should give him more than nominal allegiance either as President or as leader of his party. Finally, the legislators are subject to a very real pressure from their constituents; and this is especially true in those Middle Western states which have furnished the progressive bloc. In par-

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ticular, there are men who have an acute problem of reëlection this fall. If they must choose between bolstering up Coolidge's prestige by helping him get his way, and bolstering up their own prestige by repudiating the Mellon plan, it does not take them long to decide. Party pressure is a powerful force, to be sure, and especially in election year; but it has its limits. Specifically, it is unable any longer to conceal the fact that the Republican party has lost all unity. Its right and left wings are no longer within shouting distance of each other.

HAVING passed the Senate the Child Labor Amendment is now on its way to the State legislatures. What its fate will be then depends chiefly on the energy of the friends of children and partisans of industrial decency. There is a stubborn opposition to be overcome in many of the states. Powerful economic interests will fight the amendment, but the most serious opposition is to be expected from those who fear the extension of the federal authority and the building up of a bureaucratic inspection service. Many persons, including some who ought to know better, like Nicholas Murray Butler, have attacked the amendment because it gives the power to regulate the labor of children up to the age of eighteen. But the amendment does not require Congress to prohibit or regulate child labor up to eighteen. Under it Congress may decide when to stop. If one Congress goes too far, the next can correct the mischief. When the real meaning and bearing of the amendment has been made clear to the people, we doubt that the opposition will be able to defeat it in the legislatures.

The Prospect for a Progressive Candidate

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE has acted wisely in disassociating himself from the so-called Farmer-Labor convention which had been called to meet at Minneapolis on June 17. The progressivism which he represents has nothing in common with revolutionary socialism except a repudiation of the existing conduct of business and government and the intention of changing it. If he is to submit his name to the American people as a candidate for the Presidency, he cannot afford to have it presented by a third party which traffics with the idea of curing capitalism by violence, the dictatorship of one class and the forcible expropriation of the owners of private property. The June 17 convention was chiefly a scheme on the part of the communists to capitalize the economic discontent in the West and the personal popularity of Senator La Follette for the benefit of their revolutionary propaganda.

But quite apart from the blunder which the organizers of the convention of June 17 committed in associating themselves with the communist faction, it would have been poor tactics decisively to submit the candidacy of Senator La Follette to the American people before the meeting of the Democratic national convention. It is only fair for the progressives to give the Democrats a chance. The Republicans are, from the progressive point of view, past redemption. Under Mr. Coolidge's leadership they have shown themselves not only addicted to a worship of things as they are, but incapable of purging their own organization of its proved and shameless miscreants. The Democrats on the other hand have behaved comparatively well during the past session of Congress. They may in nominating their candidates and in framing their platform testify unequivocally in favor of the inter-dependence between clean government and economic reconstruction, which from the progressive point of view is the chief lesson of Republican corruption. The supporters of a third party have no right in advance of the deliberations and decisions of the Democratic convention to classify the Democrats with the Republicans as hopeless for the purpose of this coming election. Even progressives like ourselves, who have no confidence that in the long run a party possessed of the membership, the traditions and the centre of gravity of the Democratic party can be shaped into a loyal servant of economic reconstruction and social justice, must still distinguish its behavior from that of the Republican party and admit the possible desirability of a limited and temporary coöperation.

The indictment against the Republican party and the Harding-Coolidge administration consists chiefly of two counts. In the first place they have furnished to their fellow countrymen the most corrupt government in the history of the American Union, yet one which in spite of its notorious scandals they themselves have refused to repudiate. In the second place their economic policy is dominated by the welfare of one class which blinds them to the interests of the western farmer, and to a smaller extent, the wage-earner. The chiefly agricultural states of the West are in open insurrection because as a result of Republican rule they are obliged to sell their products at deflated prices and buy their supplies at undeflated prices. Union labor considers that the Federal injunction against the men in the soft coal strike and the attitude of the Republicans towards the workers' organization in the railroad and other industries, prove the hostility of the Republicans to organized labor and their dogmatic opposition to its future recognition. The Democrats are chiefly interested in the first of these counts. The progressives are equally interested in both, and believe much more than do the Democrats in an inter-dependent relation between corruption and class rule. They believe that Republican corruption and ineptitude are the natural consequence of the domination in that party of the ideas and interests of organized industry and accumulated

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wealth. They will not be satisfied with any candidate or any platform that does not charge the Republican party with being the servant of the large industries of the country, and does not associate political purification with the accomplishment of radical economic reconstruction.

If the Democrats should by any chance nominate a candidate and frame a platform which would satisfy the conviction of the progressives that political purification is inseparable from the accomplishment of economic and social reforms, it might be worth while for the progressives formally to support them. But in any event it is unwise to declare in advance that such support is out of the question. If the possibility of receiving independent progressive support remains open, the Democrats are much more likely to name a candidate and frame a platform which will deserve such support. It is in our opinion unlikely that they will go far enough in this direction to meet the stiff conditions which Senator La Follette properly lays down in his letter to Mr. Ekern, but they may go that far and even if they do not, they will as a consequence of this pressure tend to push further in the direction of economic radicalism than they otherwise would. In either event the important matter is the arrangement of an effective working partnership between the Democrats and the progressives, the effect of which will be to defeat the Republicans and bring to the surface all possible anti-Coolidge votes. Whether that object will be accomplished by running one or two anti-Coolidge candidates is also extremely important, but it is less important for the purposes of the present election than the recognition by both Democrats and progressives that some measure of coöperation between them is desirable.

What form that coöperation should take is of course a matter for careful and candid consideration, which should take account both of the divergent and the common interests of the proposed allies. As we see the matter, it is doubtful whether the coöperation can or should take the form of an endorsement by the progressives of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Such an endorsement should not be ruled out of the question, but unless the Democrats accept the progressive point of view much more completely than they are likely to, it will be better for the progressives to nominate Robert La Follette. There is in this country at the present time a large and increasing amount of radical discontent which has lost confidence in both of the old parties, which is seeking social and economic reforms more thorough-going than the Democrats will consider, and which demands during the coming campaign some effective political expression. If the progressives coalesce with the Democrats, a large part of this vote will be captured by some revolutionary socialist candidate and will not be counted as part of the effective anti-Coolidge strength. Senator La Follette's candidacy would for this reason help to keep a number of states out of the Coolidge column which otherwise might return a Republican plurality. But there is another consideration which from the point of view of thorough-going progressives counts still more strongly in favor of the nomination of a separate progressive candidate. Many of them believe in the necessity of a new party, composed of people who are pledged to regard politics and government chiefly as an indispensable agency of radical economic and social reforms. They wish to witness during the present campaign at least a demonstration in the direction of such a party. They believe that if Senator La Follette runs, and obtains a vote large enough to prevent the election by the Electoral College of both the Democratic and Republican candidates, the election will increase the political prestige of the progressives and may erect them into a permanently effective influence in American national politics. Just because American government is government by parties, progressivism will never establish itself as a political power until it becomes the faith of a party strong enough either to govern the country, or failing that, to prevent the other parties from governing it.

For these reasons The New Republic hopes that Senator La Follette will eventually announce his candidacy. If he runs, he and the Democratic candidate will between them poll many thousands more of effective anti-Coolidge votes than would a Democratic nominee endorsed by the progressives. It is as probable in that case as anything can be in politics that Coolidge cannot carry enough states to be elected. Of course it is also extremely probable that the Democratic nominee will also fail to carry enough states to secure his election. In that event the House of Representatives, balloting by states, would take over the task of naming the President, and it would be free to choose among the three candidates who received the largest number of votes in the Electoral College. The choice would be difficult and probably impossible. For the states with progressive delegations hold the balance of power in the House, and that body, like the Electoral College, would be deadlocked. The progressives could hardly vote to elect the Democratic candidate. If they did, they would without sufficient cause be reversing the decision to which they counseled themselves when they placed La Follette in the field. The resulting deadlock would, of course, be in many respects undesirable and even dangerous, but it would nevertheless have from the point of view of the progressives two important advantages. They would have helped to prevent the election of Coolidge, and they would have demonstrated that for the present the two older parties must coalesce if they propose to govern the country without consulting the progressives.

This result would not, it is true, be as satisfactory to the Democrats as it would be to the progressives. The Democrats would seem to be the goats of a three-cornered fight. Neither would it

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be reassuring to the ordinary American voter to feel doubtful whether or not the American government after March 4 next was to be provided with a legally-elected President. But there is one very simple way in which the Democrats, assuming that both the Electoral College and the House of Representatives are deadlocked, can almost certainly arrange for the final election of a Democrat. They can nominate for Vice-President a radical Democrat who would be acceptable to the progressives and whom the progressives could endorse. In that event the Electoral College, even if it were deadlocked on the Presidency, would elect a Vice-President who subsequently would become President whenever the House of Representatives finally failed to agree sufficiently on one of the major candidates.

This arrangement would bring about a mixture of coöperation and competition between the progressives and the Democrats which is natural under the circumstances, and which fairly represents both the common and the divergent interests of the two political groups. The progressive cause would reap whatever advantage it could obtain from running its own candidate and demonstrating its present strength with the American voter. The Democrats would nominate a candidate who represented presumably the prevailing opinions in the Democratic party. If this candidate and his platform were sufficiently progressive to keep in line all the Democratic progressive voters, and perhaps to take votes away from La Follette, he might be elected. At all events he would have had his chance to appeal for support to the American people as a Democrat rather than as a progressive, just as La Follette would have had his chance to appeal as a progressive who is not willing to trust the welfare of his cause to either of the old parties. But if, as is likely, the Democratic candidate failed to secure enough progressive support to elect him President, the Democrats would have another iron in the fire. By nominating a radical Democrat for Vice-President, who would automatically gather in the whole La Follette vote, they would provide both against a deadlock and for the ultimate election of a Democrat. The Democrat might not be the kind of Democrat whom they would prefer, but from their point of view a radical Democrat would be better than Coolidge.

There is so far as we can see only one possibly serious objection to this combination of coöperation and competition between the Democrats and the progressives. If the Coolidge strength is greater than it appears to be, the plan would give him a chance of being elected which he would not have against a coalition candidate. This is true and perhaps important, but assuming that the Democrats nominate, as they probably will, a tolerably conservative candidate, it is not important enough to justify the progressives in abandoning their own deepest feelings and convictions, and in turning the whole radical vote over to a revolutionary socialist candidate.

The Menace of the Sweat Shop

IN the garment industries of greater New York the pendulum keeps swinging from one extreme to the other; from production in comparatively large shops, owned and run by responsible employers to the shop of the small and irresponsible contractor and sub-contractor. Because shops of this last kind, even when they do not start as such, tend rapidly to become sweat-shops, or places of low earnings and excessive speeding, it has consistently been the policy of the needle trades unions either to abolish them or to subject them to rigid control. Under adverse conditions, however, when there is substantial unemployment and a strong pressure for lower cost and prices, control of a contract market becomes increasingly difficult. Competition for business is keen; new contractors and sub-contractors spring up; prices and wages are cut, at times more than once in a single season; and the standards of labor are progressively undermined.

The contractor himself is, of course, not wholly responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. He is in a measure at the mercy of industrial factors, variously known as manufacturers and jobbers, who send him materials for fabrication. The strictly business interests of these manufacturers and jobbers are often, naturally, best served by the creation of a surplus of contractors. Their motto might well be "the more the merrier," for they are known frequently to encourage or even to assist in the establishment of new contractors. It is their strategy to play off one contractor against another, to drive a hard bargain by suddenly taking work out of one shop and placing it in another, and thus to secure prompt delivery and satisfactory quality at the lowest possible level of prices. Whenever this strategy is successful, as it too often is, the contractor is bound to transmit the pressure to his workers, and they in turn assume more than a fair share of the burdens of industry.

So far as the consumer is concerned a system of contract production does not necessarily involve low prices. The same forces which make for low cost in periods of business quiet are precisely the ones which in times of intense business activity lead to snowballing, the stealing of labor, pyramiding and all those practices which bring in their wake inflated costs and prices. Industries so conducted are in short disorganized, unstable, and on occasion expensive. Much of the difficulty experienced in the building industry in the past few years arose from the prevalence of types of business organization in that industry not unlike those of the garment trades. When business got brisk everything in the industry grew out of all control.

It is easily seen how impossible an administrative task such conditions present to a trade union. Contract shops in the garment industry of a city like

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New York cover a vast territory. The job of inspection, or of keeping in touch with the affairs of these many shops, alone involves the use of a large staff of union agents and, consequently, a heavy union payroll. However, by reason of their size and simplicity of organization, these shops can frequently change their location and thus escape detection and control. The financial standing of the contractor is likewise not high; failure to collect the wages of the employes of a contract shop is not an uncommon occurrence in a large and uncontrolled contract market. Manufacturers and jobbers, the only elements of financial responsibility in the industry, shift financial obligations of this sort to the contractor and he, when he is hard hit, must face his situation without the facilities of either capital or credit. The organization of industry or business in this form, then, makes for a large number of small and scattered manufacturing units conducted by men of the slimmest financial resources, always uncertain from season to season, or even within a season, of the magnitude of their manufacturing program and hence periodically over-manned and under-manned. It contributes on this account a disproportionate volume of unemployment to the labor market.

This is the condition which has now for some years confronted the members and officers of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Before 1920, but more strikingly since, large shops have been closing down and women's cloaks have been made in smaller and smaller shops. The day of the substantial manufacturer was rapidly passing. In their place had arisen so-called jobbers, who bought the materials, sent them to contractors for fabrication and there ended, or attempted to end, their connection with the workers and at the same time with the union. To the degree to which this practice was successful, the jobbers would be free of responsibility for whatever the working conditions in the contract shops turned out to be.

The set of demands which was submitted for the cloak and suit manufacturers some months ago had, in the light of the present state of the industry, a twofold purpose. They were designed to restore the new class of jobbers to something of their former position in the industry and to raise those working standards which since the depression of 1920 had been subjected to a serious whittling process. In order to stop the mushroom growth of shops and to enlarge those already in existence, the union demanded that no shop be given work unless it had a minimum of fourteen machines. The union has insisted on joint control to remedy the vicious practice of the frequent and unrestricted changing of contractors, with its concomitant of sudden unemployment. A greater responsibility of the jobbers toward their contractors, the union has sought to establish by the provision that "each jobber employ only such number of sub-manufacturers or contractors as he can provide with work to their full capacity. No jobber should engage new sub-manufacturers or contractors so long as those working for him are not fully provided with work."

Proposals of the union for raising the standards of working conditions in the industry represent, as usual, a mixture of old and new devices. Demands are made for an increase in the minimum rate of wages, the reduction of hours from forty-four to forty, and the use of the union label to help consumers identify the product of properly organized shops. However desirable a reduction in hours may be as an end in itself, and there can be little question on this score, the prosperity of the industry permitting, the efficacy of this measure as a means of prolonging the period of yearly employment is open to grave doubt. Past experience points to the failure of the short work week in achieving more regular employment. Fortunately, however, the union has not been blind to the possibilities of employing more potent methods for dealing with the problem of employment. It has learned from the experience of its own local union in the small Cleveland market, and the more elaborate system of unemployed insurance in England, and has requested of manufacturers a guaranteed period of employment and the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund.

At this time negotiations on these basic measures of reform are in a state of deadlock. Manufacturers first disclaim responsibility for prevailing evils and for their eradication, and at last reject the union's proposals as burdensome and "undebatable." From present indications a strike involving tens of thousands is imminent, unless the intervention of the State Industrial Commissioner effects a resumption of conversations between the parties. There would seem to be nothing in the situation to make impossible an agreement on such measures as would in the next few years raise the levels of stability and decency in the women's garment industry. It behooves the people of New York to use the weight of their public opinion to this end.

Corollaries of the Immigration Law

WITH the enactment of the immigration law the United States enters upon a new phase of economic and social development. The immigrant workman who has hitherto served as the elastic element in our labor supply, swarming in during periods of expansion and returning to Europe in slack times, can no longer figure in the calculations of our industrial managers. The numbers permitted to land under the new law will barely be sufficient for many years to make good the losses from the emigration of aliens who have made their fortunes or have become disillusioned with America. Moreover, the kind of immigrant we shall get under the new law is unfavorable to the

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use of immigrant labor as an elastic element in our system. They will come chiefly from northwestern Europe with the definite intention of remaining here all their lives. They will flow in at a fairly uniform rate in good years or bad and will not flow out at all. Consequently our industry will have to look elsewhere for emergency supplies of labor, or set about regularizing its operations, so as to employ its working force more fully in slack times and thus escape the pressure of the boom period.

Where shall we find the emergency supplies of labor, with European immigration cut off? We can still draw upon Canada and Mexico. The Canadian supply is narrowly limited. Possibly the movement of French Canadians to the North Atlantic industrial cities will be somewhat accelerated. But Canada has immense natural resources to develop and may be expected rather to draw population to herself than to yield it up for another country's use. Mexico has an immense volume of peon labor upon which the Southwest is already drawing rather heavily. It is a kind of labor that answers very well for road building, railway construction and reclamation undertakings. We may expect Mexican labor gangs to penetrate farther and farther into the country. But the Mexican laborer is not yet well adapted for manufacturing industry.

Evidently, if our manufacturing industries are to expand they will have to depend chiefly on workers drawn in from the farms. In the greater part of the North the country has already been stripped of most of the labor that can be spared. Any further movement to the cities would involve a cutting down of agricultural production. This might solve the immediate problem of farm prices, but within a decade its consequences would make themselves felt in oppressively high costs of living.

South of the Potomac and the Ohio there is still a considerable body of country population, both white and black, which has not been noticeably affected by the movement to the cities. We may expect this population to be heavily drawn upon by industry in the next decade. Many of the poorer farms will be abandoned, and the average holding will be increased in size through the merging of farms. There will be a decline in production, notably of cotton and tobacco, which presuppose a dense local population. Rising wages will work to eliminate the remnants of the southern land-holding aristocracy.

The worker of old American stock, drawn in from the country to take the place of the alien, presents a new problem for industrial management. For a time he may seem more easily handled. The southern cotton mill workers have proved docile enough. Having lost touch with the country, and having access only to a single industrial employment, they are as dependent on the mill owner as the mediaeval serf on his lord. The same kind of population, drawn into the industrial North, is pretty sure to develop independence of spirit. The old disciplinary resource of the employer, his ability to replace his hands with new immigrants, is gone. Nor can threats of discharge be so effective with the native-born as they were in the case of the alien workman. The employer who does not wish to see a deterioration in production standards will have to find new motives to enlist the worker's interest. The worker will have to be granted a greater share in the control of industry, as well as more satisfactory living conditions. This has already been recognized by the more enlightened employers who have been experimenting with "industrial democracy" ever since the war cut off their imported labor supply.

The framers of the immigration law were actuated for the most part by simple motives. They feared the political and social influence of the unassimilated alien community. They dreaded the possible deterioration of the American racial stock through dilution with stocks from southern and eastern Europe. War hysteria and racial bigotry furnished a great part of the motives to action. The immigration restrictionists merely sought to return to the old state of American life, in which a high degree of homogeneity was possible.

Now the southern and eastern Europeans have been excluded, except for negligible admissions under the quota, and it is assumed that the America of 1924 will go forward in all essential particulars like the America of 1890. This can not be true. The exclusionist policy is a new thing. It will bring about movements in our own population which bear no exact analogy to the movements prior to 1890. It will produce a subtle change in the relations of employer and employed. Lacking the elastic element in our labor supply, we shall have much sharper alternations of labor shortage and unemployment, unless we set about systematically to regularize employment. The movement from country to city will produce a marked effect on the native American birth rate. In so far as the movement is selective, it will gradually change the constitution of our population. Ours will not, however, be the America on which the worshippers of times gone by build their dreams.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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HERBERT CROLY, PRES. ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREAS. DANIEL MEBANE, CIRCULATION MANAGER.

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY BRUCE BLIVEN ROBERT LITTELL
ALVIN JOHNSON R. M. LOVETT STARK YOUNG

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JANE ADDAMS JOHN DEWEY R. H. TAWNEY
DAVID FRIDAY H. N. BRAILSFORD LEO WOLMAN

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Political Corruption and the Public:

Fifty Years Ago and Today

WE have passed through a season of investigations in Washington unmatched in all American history. I shall not enumerate the most serious of the revelations of the Walsh and Wheeler committees. All the world knows what they have been. There has never been a Secretary of the Interior whose record has been as bad as that of the late Secretary Fall. Nor will historians find parallels to the shameful work of Daugherty. Of Denby the least said the best, although there has been no charge of personal profit from his connection with the leasing of the oil reserves. Three members of the Cabinet have been permitted or pressed to resign. In the worst of all earlier presidential records, that of General Grant, there were not so many fatalities.

How does it come to pass that the nation seems not to know what to do in a case of wholesale corruption? George Washington dismissed an Attorney-General, bearing one of the greatest names in American history, for a cause by no means so clearly established; and he dismissed him in anger and with a contempt that the whole country understood at once. In Grant's day a Cabinet member convicted of robbing the public was shielded by the President; but the leaders of Grant's party did not shield or defend either Grant or his favorite, Belknap.

We have in our day a curious situation. Three members of the Cabinet are out of office; the cause of their departure is not officially stated either by the President or any of his entourage. That of itself has been most confusing to a vast body of the people. But President Grant did the same thing or its equivalent. And yet the public of 1870 to 1876 was not confused. Both parties nominated in the year 1876 candidates who were known to be of the highest character. Grant wished a renomination but he was beaten in spite of the efforts of three of the greatest Republican bosses of the time. And Blaine was made forever ineligible to the Presidency because of his comparatively petty wrongdoing.

There is a difference between 1876 and 1924. And that difference is due more to the conduct of the great newspapers of the day than to the negative protection of official conduct. From the time that Archie Roosevelt revealed a little of the enormous peculations of members of the Harding administration to the present moment most of the great newspapers of the country have so managed the news or so commented upon the manner of exposing guilt—as if that were the vital matter—that the articulate opinion of the country rather sympathizes with the culprits and condemns those who have uncovered the crimes against the public! Men who admired and approved the Senate four years ago now "loathe that body of peanuts." You can hear the remark anywhere. It was not so fifty years ago.

When Secretary Bristow uncovered the crimes of the first Whiskey ring and tracked the trail of graft directly to the door of the President's private secretary, the country thanked Bristow and demanded the dismissal of Babcock, the private secretary. When the President compelled the resignation of Bristow instead of the guilty parties, the Republican press from the Boston Transcript to the Chicago Tribune condemned the act and urged the nomination of Bristow for the presidency. That was the tone of pretty nearly the whole press of the country. The New York Tribune, the Cincinnati Commercial, the Springfield Republican and practically every other paper that had played a great part in the formation and the early performances of the Republican party denounced every effort that looked toward the shielding of wrongdoers. As a result public opinion in the party of Lincoln was duly and correctly informed. To be sure there were some papers that played the Bourbon rôle, but they were unable to mislead any considerable number of the articulate public.

Not only the greater Republican papers but the greater Republican chiefs everywhere made their positions clear. I have said that a few bosses closed their eyes, if they had any—Roscoe Conkling, Don Cameron and Oliver P. Morton. But Charles Francis Adams, Gideon Welles and Samuel Bowles of New England denounced corruption in their own party. William E. Curtis, William Cullen Bryant and John Bigelow, all able New York Republicans who had had a great part in the elevation and the work of Lincoln, were equally outspoken. Murat Halstead, Lyman Trumbull, Carl Schurz and Joseph Medill of the Middle West refused all association with Grant and the sinners of his Cabinet. With practically all the men who had been eminent in the Republican party condemning the conduct of their party and its betrayers, there was little chance of widespread misunderstanding of the issue. For the house-cleaning of the Republicans in 1876 the Republican newspapers and the greater Republican leaders were responsible. And history today accords every one of these agencies and individuals a high place. What will the historian of the future be compelled to say of the Republican press and leadership of our day? Perhaps men won't read history in the future.

Nor was the Democratic press and leadership of the 1870's less outspoken. It was the New York Times that exposed the crimes of Tammany in 1871.

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It was Samuel J. Tilden, the greatest Democratic leader of his time, who led the fight upon Tammany and himself carried the Tweed bosses through the courts and secured their conviction. It was a notable time. There was wholesale corruption both in national and state affairs. The country eagerly sought out the criminals and on the whole escaped that partisan astigmatism which exculpates a crime if found in one's party household.

How does it happen that in the Grant period practically the whole press of the country was alive to the immoral and dangerous bearings of corrupt officials in Washington and wholesale robbery in New York City, and that in our time a worse state of things in national politics is regarded as merely venal? One would hardly be willing to agree that the whole body of the people is less alert and less sensitive to wrongdoing. It is hard to believe that the press of its own volition is willing to pooh-pooh all investigations and apologize in editorials for the worst Attorney-General in American history.

In all such situations it is not easy to fix responsibility; but there is always a major responsibility and that responsibility lies, in the opinion of many, at the door of business. Between Grant and Harding stretches a great span of history. Business, that is industry, transportation and finance, was in 1876 in its adolescent stage. It was not all-powerful. Today it ramifies through every community; what its leaders say in New York in the morning is discussed in every hamlet at night. Business is afraid; it trembles at revelations; yet it wishes to control everything, quietly. And its will is well-nigh irresistable. Its power is a hundred-fold greater than in 1876.

When young Roosevelt told his story there was no great stir, although business men said it looked ugly. When Doheny revealed on the witness stand a part of his relations and methods, and his story was duly confirmed, it was time for business men to condemn Doheny and all his ways. If a school teacher or preacher in a village had been overtaken in a confidence game that involved a hundred dollars, fellow professionals would at once have condemned the act and on investigation the teacher or the preacher would have been dismissed from his position and branded to the world as a crook. That is the attitude of men in the professions from highest to lowest ranks.

But no business men's organizations, so far as the press informs us, repudiated Doheny or Sinclair. The chambers of commerce, the associations of oil producers and refiners have said nothing about the betrayal of the integrity of business men; and yet there has never been a greater betrayal of business. The bankers have probably curtailed credits, but they have not publicly condemned one of their greatest customers. If appearances do not deceive us, business men have suffered themselves to come into an attitude of ignoring the gravest delinquencies on the part of their fellows. No man may be a teacher of the young if his moral character is in doubt; that is a rule as rigid as the laws of the Medes—a wise rule. Yet a business man with banks and railroads and newspapers at his command, a man held up every day to the young as the model of proper conduct, may do what Doheny and Sinclair have done and never suffer condemnation among his colleagues. That registers a change since 1876.

Judge Gary represents business admirably when he condemns Congress for its minor sins and yet nowhere finds words to condemn Doheny and Sinclair. What Judge Gary says is law to thousands of corporation directors. What is law to corporation directors quickly finds its way into editorial offices. There was once a similarly close conscious and unconscious contact and affiliation between the owners of great plantations, the masters of slaves in 1850-60, and the newspapers of the South. What the masters of plantations thought was expressed without instructions in every newspaper office in all the cotton country. The penalty of that betrayal of the common interest in free speech and free press was a war which ruined the South and well-nigh ruined the North.

We have now a similar relation between the press of the industrial states and business. If business men express no condemnation of one of their fellows who robs the nation and bribes his fellows far and near, the great press does not think to express horror of such conduct. In 1876 the New York Times was the voluntary prosecutor of Tweed; in 1924 the Times honorably prints all the news from Washington, but it condemns in editorial after editorial the summoning of witnesses whose reputations were not the best. And gradually the articulate public takes the cue: "It is a mess in Washington; but the worst mess is the Senate which permits Gaston Means to tell his story."

It is difficult to tell what the great masses of people think. But what we call articulate opinion is certainly not what it was. There may be danger in this one of these days, even to business.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Words for Gardening

Dig up this earth and make it smooth for seed.
Hands ghostly now have turned it year on year;
We'll break a rotted beam or fence-base here
Or a brown chain as useles as a weed.
The earth outwore the hands, it will outwear
The wood they hewed, the iron links they made;
Sow it with seed and corn will be its shade;
Leave it undug, unsown—still it will bear.

This bursting up of grass and sumach shoots
Speak of a fire in earth we never guessed,
A restlessness forever feeding roots,
Turning persistence to sublimity.
Dust unto dust—Jehovah's ancient jest
Of life that Adam touched and could not see.

FRANK ERNEST HILL.

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France, Germany and the Future

AN American who happened to be in Berlin during the German election and in Paris during the French one found much food for thought in the two spectacles. Taking them in their chronological order, it may be observed first that of the two the German election was incomparably the better show. The parties saved up their campaign funds until the last moment to make it so.

"How American!" exclaimed a German spectator, as a motor lorry full of horn-blowing boys dashed down Unter den Linden, casting out armfuls of Nationalist dodgers, "One People; One Country; One Kaiser," followed by another full of pretty girls, throwing out circulars of the People's Party, "Through Work and Sacrifice to Freedom."

The streets of "the cleanest city in the world" were littered with millions of these "flying leaves" from seventeen political parties. There had been political meetings in every beer garden every night.

The "Union of Revolutionary Students" of the University of Berlin held an anti-patriotic meeting in the aula of the neighboring Dorotheenstrasse Gymnasium on a program of free tuition and permission to work for their livings more than four hours a day. In front of the polling places Communist, Democratic and Monarchist placard-bearers chatted amicably, while inside it was impossible to see the ballot box for the men and women voters crowded around the beer counter. Berlin was quiet. Even the Communists had exhausted their powers of disturbance by running like rabbits before the Schutzpolizei on May day, four days earlier. The people took their normal Sunday outing. But it was visibly and audibly election day, and the people were noticeably interested.

Not so in Paris, the following Sunday. That election, too, was dramatic enough in its significance, and in its sudden overthrow of Poincaré's support just at the moment when his policies and temperament were the pivot on which the world was turning. But considered as a performance, it was almost dramatically undramatic. It was a typical Parisian Sunday, with everybody and his sweetheart out making love as usual, and with no way of knowing that it was election day except the battle of the billboards, to whose ink-flung epithets the people were humorously indifferent.

But those billboards would be unbelievable if one had not actually seen them. Here are some sample headlines and phrases which I copied during a brief walk: "A Falsehood;" "An Effrontery;" "An Indecency;" "An Infamy;" "Quacks and Bluffers;" "False, and he knows it;" "Election Pickpockets;" "Dupers and Duped;" "This committee lies;" "The Free-Masons are liars;" "Like Thieves in the House." Léon Daudet, Royalist leader, denounced the Catholics for posting up "filth" about his mother and sister. I did not see the attack, but it could scarcely have equalled some that Daudet himself had perpetrated.

In the way of argumentative posters, perhaps the best was one put up by the revolutionary Socialists in derision of their more moderate brethren of the now victorious Left Bloc. It was a picture of a bat, labeled on one side, "Socialist Radicals," and on the other, "Bourgeois Socialists," with the legend: "I am a bird! Look at my wings. I am a mouse! Look at my body. Hurrah for the rats!"

The press dispatches have sufficiently indicated the outcomes of the elections, but they have hardly explained the way in which these results were brought about, nor especially the effect of the electoral machinery of the two countries in confusing, or even reversing, the vote of the people.

The German electoral law is one of pure proportional representation. The French law is a bastard of the proportional and the majority systems. Both operate with a bewildering multitude of parties, groups and coalitions.

Under the German system, the number of members of the Reichstag is not fixed, but varies with the number of votes cast at each election. It is one member for each unit of 60,000 votes. The member is regarded as the representative, not of his district, but of these 60,000 voters. If all the 36,000,000 voters in Germany voted, the result would be a Reichstag of 600 members. As it is, on a vote of a little more than 26,000,000 it will be a body of slightly over 470.

"Straight ticket" voting is compulsory. Only the first four names on each list are printed on the ballot, and these only for identification. The voter marks the party of his choice in any intelligible fashion, preferably with a pen or pencil cross in the voting circle. "Absent voting" is permitted, with ingenious safeguards.

This is all the voter has to do. The complicated process of giving "proportional" effect to his vote is attended to, beforehand in the party nominations and afterward in the mathematical assignment of the votes.

There are seventy-three political parties in Germany, twenty-eight of which secured positions on the national ballot and twelve of which must be taken seriously, with important representations in the Reichstag. Usually not over sixteen or eighteen appear on the ballot in any one district. There is of course never a majority party. In the new Reichstag the two largest parties combined—and they are precisely the two which never combine—would number together only 40 percent of the whole.

The country is divided into sixty-four large dis-

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tricts, each with a considerable number of representatives, all to be chosen "by list" and not individually. Each party nominates in each district approximately as many candidates as it thinks it can cast multiples of 60,000 votes. If everybody guessed right, all the candidates of all the parties would be elected. It also nominates a "national list" of candidates at large to whom all surplus votes are assigned.

To illustrate: Two parties nominate each five candidates in Berlin. One party gets 245,000 and the other 365,000 votes. The first party has thus four units of 60,000 and the second six, each with 5,000 over. So the first party elects the four top names on its district list and the remaining 5,000 go into a pool, to be lumped with similar surpluses from other districts, to elect the top man on its national list, should the total reach 60,000. The second party elects, with 360,000 of its votes, all five of its district candidates and the first man on its national list, and has similarly 5,000 more to go into the pool of its second national candidate. It is, however, provided that the number of candidates elected at large from any party shall not exceed the number it has elected from the districts. This provision has curtailed the Communist representation and cuts out entirely some minor parties which might cast more than 60,000 votes in the whole Empire, but not in any one district. With these exceptions, and disregarding minor fractions, the representation is roughly one for each 60,000 votes actually cast, distributed approximately in the same proportions as the popular vote.

The result is, of course, to encourage the constant multiplication of parties. If party leaders disagree, they lose nothing by splitting into two parties except what they have already lost by divided voting in the Reichstag. Each fragment can still get as many members as it can secure multiples of 60,000 votes, and its leaders, at the top of their lists, are safe in their own seats. Government majorities have to be made by coalitions in any event, and German political tradition has not yet trained party men to positively organized action even in this.

The French electoral scheme suits nobody. Formerly France had the British-American majority system, with one representative from each arrondissement, elected by the majority in that district. In 1919 a compromise system, partly majority and partly proportional, was substituted. Each of the ninety "départements" of France was made an electoral district, with from three to twenty members according to size. Each party puts up as many candidates as the district has members. The parties are nearly as numerous as in Germany, and are organized and make their nominations in much the same way. If one party "liste" in any departement gets a majority of all the votes, all its candidates are elected and the minority parties have no representation. Any seats not filled by this "prime" or majority right are distributed among the parties by a complicated mathematical scheme of "quotients." This is the formula: Divide the total vote of each party by the number of its candidates, to determine its "mean." Divide the total district vote by the whole number of candidates, to find the "quotient." Divide the "mean" by the "quotient" and the result is the number of the party's candidates elected. If there are any left over, they go to the party with the "highest average."

So mathematical a scheme naturally invites mathematical tricks to beat it. "Incomplete lists" were used to beat the "quotient" and "immoral combinations" to elect members by "prime." I will not trouble you with the formulae. Poincaré's "National Bloc" was elected by such a combination four years ago, and now the "Left Cartel" has just beaten him with his own trick. "Split ticket" voting, though legal, is largely self-destructive, by another mathematical formula.

There are strong movements, one to return to the majority system and the other to go on to the full proportional system as exemplified in Germany. The present system is criticized as combining the faults of both. Its majority element has had the effect, familiar in the pure majority systems of England and America, of magnifying a small change in the popular vote into a sweeping reversal of the parliamentary majority. A moderate "swing to the left" among the people has been multiplied by ten in the regrouping of the new Chamber On the other hand, the complicated mathematics of the proportional element defeated some candidates with many more votes than their elected opponents and elected some disgraceful candidates who could not have got a majority anywhere.

If the immediate outcome of the election is confusion of meaning and paralysis of action, only a part of the fault is in these electoral laws. Most of it is inherent in the multi-party system itself, which these laws may aggravate but did not cause. The group system may reflect, in ordinary times, the multiple interests of a complex civilization, but it is not well adapted in an emergency to record and execute a simple decision. This time it has brought into the foreground one of the most helpful elements in France and one of the most discouraging in Germany. But only into the foreground. The final determination is made, not by any decision of the people at the polls, but by a bargain of the politicians afterward. The failure of the electoral systems is in the fact that the immediate plurality groups, whose leaders have the initiative in these bargains, do not represent what a simpler analysis of the vote of the people would indicate as their decision.

The issue in Germany was the Dawes report, and that in France was Poincaré's foreign policy. The majority of the German people voted for the acceptance of the reparations plan, but a minority drift toward the extremes made the anti-reparations Nationalists the largest single group in the Reich-

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stag. Now, apparently, they are saving their faces and leaving to others the responsibility of saving their country. Even the brief interval between the writing and the publication of this article may have developed their tactics, but my guess is that the von Tirpitz proposal was made to be rejected, so as to compel a temporary Centre-Left coalition to accept responsibility for the inevitable. Then the Nationalists, if they force themselves into power afterward, can treat the bitter dose as already irrevocably swallowed. But this decision, if made, will have been done by indirect intrigue instead of by the direct reflection of the clear voice of the German people.

In France, the desirability of the result may obscure the fact that it is probably better than the people intended. There is a "better France," which understands facts and wants constructive peace, and that France is now luckily in a way to assume power. But it is probable that a majority of the people of France still agree with Poincaré that the way to make the Germans pay is to choke them to death. What they voted against was high taxes and prices—exactly the things they are still going to have under the new government.

Immediately after the Dawes report, the European situation looked optimistic. After the German election it looked pessimistic. Now it can only be described as "critical." If there were time, it would be hopeful. The "buck" of obstruction has been passed from France to Germany, and that is an easier place to meet it.

The trouble is time. The currency of Germany has been temporarily stabilized, and its business revived, by the rentenmark. But that is an emergency currency, inadequate in quantity and unsound in security. Even with the addition of Reichstag notes on the precarious basis of a trillion to one, there is not money enough in Germany to do business. Already the situation is critical. There has been an epidemic of bank failures, and the repercussion of the financial stringency on business is beginning. Establishments with abundant security and normally sound credit find it impossible to borrow money, because it simply does not exist. This pressure, checking all business, will necessarily wreck some. German business absolutely must have more money of some sort. If the pressure is not met legitimately, it will be met by inflation. Then the deluge!

If it comes, it will reveal that the security behind the rentenmark, though sufficient, is inaccessible. The one sound feature of the rentenmark is its automatic quantitative limitation. Only as many rentenmarks can be issued as there are property mortgages for ostensible security. Once introduce inflation, by any device, and this one safeguard disappears. Then it will develop that the holder of rentenmarks has no means of getting the mortgages, or the property, and that if there were such a way, it would only extinguish the currency.

The survival of the rentenmark, if unsupported, is a matter not of months but of weeks. The bank of issue, provided in the experts' plan, will meet the breach. If that plan is accepted without delay or quibble, temporary loans will prop the rentenmark over the interval. But nobody will loan money to finance a doubtful debate on acceptance. The time limit on that debate is the present margin of survival of the rentenmark. And that calls for better machinery of decision and action than the election, on the surface, has given Germany. The only hope is in the politicians' running better than form.

And the danger is that if the rentenmark goes, so will the franc. Only the permanent balancing of the French budget can sustain the franc. It has been propped temporarily by one Anglo-American loan, and that could be done once more, but not twice, and not at all in face of the economic and psychological situation which would follow another collapse of Germany. If Germany goes over the edge, it will drag France with it. Then the experts' plan will be waste paper.

A fortnight ago it looked as if these calamities were impending. Now, apparently, they may be averted. But this is an emergency that can not wait for the normal "muddling through" pace of the confused machinery of European politics. Europe is on the edge. A single blunder could push it over. There is no word but "critical" to describe such a situation. But it does have elements of hope.

CHESTER H. ROWELL.

Riddle

Come, I would give you
A riddle to plague you.
What of the heaven
That spurs your sight—
That moves before you,
A shadow, moon-colored,
To blind and beckon,
A darkness, a light?

What of the heaven
Of which you know nothing,
Save that it makes you
Timorous strength,
Save that it gives you
Silver for breathing,
Save that it leads you
Down the world's length?

The mind will not help you,
The mind's dry laughter
Will baffle and foil you;
Nor will the heart know.
Better to leave it
A riddle, to name it
Mist or a sunbeam,
Or dazzle of snow.

HAZEL HALL.

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Norris, the Discouraged

THE saddest, heaviest-hearted man in the Senate, in the whole of Congress for that matter, is George W. Norris, of Nebraska. Yet he has been, and he probably is today, the least laden of all members with that supreme travail—how to get back and how to stay on, and on, and on. To stay in Congress, particularly in the Senate, for ambition's sake, for pride's sake, for pleasure's sake, and, in some woeful instances, for bread-and-butter's sake, that is what darkens the days and makes fearful the nights of the run of Congress, who reached there by ruthless adherence to rule of devil take the hindmost, and are subject to constant attack under the same merciless order.

But Norris's vitals never are torn by that. He behaves in a way that not even La Follette or Borah on the progressive end, or Brandegee on the conservative end, or Robinson on the Democratic end, would dare. Any time at all he tells the sovereign voters of Nebraska that he cares not three whoops in a gale of wind whether they send him back or not; rather hopes they will not; will not play ball with his own party at home, and it can go to the devil if it does not like his manners; and is perfectly willing to apply the recall to the nomination, election or anything else given him by the public.

What, then, causes his strange sadness? The same fact that, mainly, gives him the strange independence which would equal all human joy for ninety-nine in each hundred of the other members of Congress. His real interest, his profound concern, is to do big and fine things for the common man; and he knows he will not, cannot, realize one percent of his purpose.

These big and fine things do not constitute some elaborate and clearly formulated program for political, or social, or economic reconstruction. His purpose is to use government, so far as may be, to make daily life comfortable for the plain people, particularly the farmers of the Middle West whom he knows and loves; to make the agencies of government decent and helpful. In the pursuit of that purpose, his instruments and immediate objectives vary from year to year, from condition to condition. Even so, he is as downhearted as though he had followed some brilliant, dazzling dream. After more than a score of years' unbroken service in Congress, he may be heard to say, time and again, when a test of strength is coming: "Oh, they (the old line politicians of both parties) will be together to beat this idea."

Coming from an unsophisticated people, his urge to bring blessings upon mankind was not disciplined by reckoning the slow, almost infinitesimal steps by which progress is realized, and thus he has hurled himself unguardedly, times without number, against the enemy. Now, conscious that he is bruised and battered, he has the most realistic sense of the odds to be encountered. He goes on, it is true; he bares his breast and charges as bravely as in any earlier day. But the light of victory is not in his eye, and he will not repine when the order of honorable discharge is given him. He goes on, but it is because Nature gave him a heart that knows no other manœuvre.

Senator Norris's disappointments and defeats in legislation which he has sought for the common weal have been the more emphatic and the more saddening, I believe, because of the quality of his mind, the way it operates. He thinks in terms of the particular, not of the general—which is perhaps natural in a man who came to maturity in the small world of the Nebraska of the 'eighties and 'nineties. When he sees something to be done, or to be undone, he sees that almost exclusively. Direct, regardless movement toward his objective inevitably has often involved possible and even patent dangers as grave or worse than those at which he aimed. Consequently, he has been made to endure opposition not only of old line politicians, but of men at one with him in general purpose, such men as Borah and William S. Kenyon.

But though so often thwarted in his specific undertakings, he remains one of the men in Congress who thrill you. That is because he has had part in daring and dramatic enterprises, such as that of the little group of Republican insurgents in the House fourteen and fifteen years ago who went up against intrenched and seemingly impregnable Cannonism, and won in no-quarter, hand-to-hand fighting. It is because of the ways in which he manifests the independence that has been mentioned: for example, his leadership of the Senate fight against Ford's offer for Muscle Shoals, when his own crowd, the Middle West farmers, were as hot as the Southern farmers for acceptance.

And, above all, it is because of the man himself. He has personality, individuality. Years ago, I read a vivid description of a peasant leader who arose in eastern Europe, a man who acquired education, position, power and contact with the great and famous, but remained rough-hewn, the possessor of homely virtues and the interpreter of the hopes of homely folk. There are no peasants in this country, city intellectuals to the contrary. Peasant stock is not bred from men touched with the argonaut spirit. But I never see Norris on the Senate floor—burly body; massive head and face; direct, candid, fearless speech—that I do not see that peasant of eastern Europe who lifted himself to mastery. Norris is the plain man in a fine and rare mold.

JOHN W. OWENS.

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CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS
II. George W. Norris

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America's Opportunity

WHEN one day history is written, what will be regarded as the chief result of the World War? Will it be the destruction of the three imperial dynasties which were the stronghold of conservatism and autocracy in Europe? Or will it be the rise of France to predominance on the continent, the upsetting of the balance of European power on which Great Britain had based her home security and her world empire for centuries? All these events, far-reaching as they are, are overshadowed by the one fact: the shifting of the world's centre from Europe, which had held it since the days of Marathon, to America which, during the World War, outgrew her competitors and became the leading world power in economics as well as in politics.

There is no chapter in the whole history of economics more marvelous than the rise of America during the last century—for here as usual economics precede and carry on the political evolution. A century ago New England was a coast country like Norway, in the periphery of the world, doing some shipping, ship-building, fishing and carrying trade. Zealous to protect her great Puritan traditions, liberty and democracy, against autocratic and aristocratic Europe, America established the Monroe Doctrine with defensive intent.

During the nineteenth century America developed from a coast country to a continent. She was the fortunate owner of a practically unlimited hinterland, because the Ohio valley, acquired by England from France at the end of the Seven Years' War, was ceded by the British to the independent colonies, an event which Carlyle commented on in his paradoxical way: "The grenadiers of old Fritz caused America to talk English today." Since the middle of the nineteenth century America has been flooded by a tide of European immigrants, headed by the German farmer, who opened up the Middle West. But during the same time and in order to develop into a continent, America became a typical debtor country, dependent on Europe for the import of capital, largely in the form of manufactured goods, and for a market for her raw materials, first for her cotton and tobacco, later for cereals and cattle as well. At the end of the nineteenth century America, by hard and successful work, had gained some independence from Europe. She had built up a strong home industry; she now consumed the greater part of her grain production, and gradually bought back her securities from Europe. She even began to aspire to an imperial sphere in the world. The meaning of the Monroe Doctrine changed; it now meant that America should be the paramount power in Pan-America. In 1903 Roosevelt proclaimed the "age of the Pacific," hoping to rule that ocean by America's newly-built navy. At the outbreak of the World War America was one of the great leading and competing world powers together with Great Britain, Russia and Germany.

The World War was decided, not on the battlefields of France and Russia, not even by the blockade of the German fleet, but by diplomatic battles at Washington. The victory of the British diplomacy over the German was won by the insanity of the German militarists, who, by sinking the Lusitania, by the deportation of Belgian labor and by unrestricted submarine warfare, did the work of their opponents. After America entered the war the final victory was won by the industrial, financial, military and naval power of the United States which, as I in vain warned my countrymen, represented twice the force of England's. Admiral Sims points out that without America's help, the war would have been lost for the Allies. Since then the world's centre was shifted to America; England accepted naval equality at the Washington Conference. The utter impossibility of a war between England and America is perhaps the most hopeful feature for the world's future. Canada is defenceless, but nevertheless secure. America's influence might even induce Monsieur Non, Non—as the English called M. Poincaré—to become Monsieur Oui, Oui.

The political power of America is built upon a broad economic foundation. Her total estimated wealth equals the total of any other five nations combined. Though the United States contains only 6 percent of the world's population, her industries produce 25 percent of its wheat, 45 percent of its iron and steel, 50 percent of its coal, 60 percent of its copper and cotton, 70 percent of its oil, 75 percent of its corn, 80 percent of its automobiles. From 1900 to 1920 her estimated wealth grew from $88,000,000,000 to $350,000,000,000 and the value of her agricultural trade has been tripled. Furthermore America's interests have become interwoven with those of the whole world.

America has become the *greatest exporter* in the world. Her exports surpass even those of Great Britain by several hundred millions of dollars. Among the exporting interests, that of the farmer of the Middle West is the most insistent and politically the best organized. The wheat and hog farmer, as some one has put it, is "in the midst of Europe." The prices of his products are regulated by the markets of the world and are today below the prewar level, whereas the prices of manufactured goods, which he has to buy, are 50 percent above. The idea of a tariff on wheat and cattle is for him absurd. But, on the other hand, the agricultural depression has lessened, readjust-

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ment is going on. Before the war, the export of grain surplus was reduced by the growing home demand and by the diversifying of farming. It is possible, even probable, that in the long run one-crop farming will be superseded by mixed agriculture and, consequently, the foreign by the home market.

There are raw materials, such as copper and cotton, the export of which will prove more lasting. But the chief point is that, during the war, the European demand was shifted from raw materials to finished products, so that the producing power of America's industries has developed until the export trade, hitherto a casual outlet for an overstocked market, has become an essential factor in the national life. The highly efficient plant which you find in many American factories, combined with incessant machine work and standardized products, permit them to meet foreign competition in domestic as well as in foreign markets, "an industrial revolution" similar, but on a larger scale than that of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

America as the world's greatest exporter has a strong interest in the restoration of Europe, which even now, disrupted as she is, takes more than 50 percent of America's total exports. If, by new political convulsions, Europe should be ruined and become a peninsula of Asia, chiefly of antiquarian interest, America even from the purely economic point of view would be severely hampered.

With the growing tendency of Great Britain to depend on her colonies, America and continental Europe will draw nearer together. But in continental Europe before the war, Germany was, as Keynes has pointed out, the central pillar of the whole economic system. To restore Europe means to restore Germany. In 1912 Germany bought 17 percent of the total exports of the world, 15 percent of America's exports. With the elimination of Germany, Austria and Russia 25 percent of the world markets are "frozen." Through the depression of the general price level, resulting from this fact, America has suffered enormous losses. Take for instance this fact: Before the war more than half of America's copper exports and about 30 percent of her total copper production went to Germany. It is true not only that Germany is "in the heart of the copper situation" but, as Mr. Hoover pointed out, that the stabilization of the German exchange is the central problem of the world's economic reconstruction.

To sum up, America's home market, though far from its saturation point, is limited and the law of diminishing returns begins to be felt in certain fields. The western states are beginning to compete with the manufacturing districts of the East. America, therefore, turns her eyes overseas. It is to her interest that the traffic of the world should be carried on under fair terms, that the currencies should be restored as the primary condition of sound business, that foreign tariffs be lowered, and that the principle of the open door be applied to the new countries and colonies. But if America stands today where Great Britain stood after the Napoleonic Wars, let us not forget that it took thirty years in England before free trade fought its way through. So America has to rediscover the old truth, that you cannot sell without buying, that a rich neighbor is better than a poor one, and that manufacturing countries might develop a division of labor among themselves by which both sides win (as did England and Germany before the war). The mentality of the business world changes slowly, but surely.

If economic considerations induce America to take active steps today toward the reconstruction of Europe, they come from another quarter. America has become *the greatest creditor* of the world, and it is therefore the bankers who are more conscious than any other section of the community of the needs as well as of the powers which such a position involves. Before the war America was a great debtor nation; there were about $4,000,000,000 worth of American securities held abroad. During the war America paid these debts and by an enormous excess of exports over imports she has become a creditor of about $20,000,000,000. Furthermore, the favorable balance of trade went on after the war. From 1910 to 1914 the average surplus of exports was $477,000,000; in 1922 it was $653,000,000. Interest from foreign investments as well must be taken into account. The consequence has been an import of gold unheard of in all history. America is now in possession of more than half of the world's gold. This gold, hoarded up in the banks, is a useless and even dangerous treasure. It might lead again to an unsound inflation as it did immediately after the war in 1919. But even if inflation is avoided by the self-discipline of the bankers, gold might become depreciated by losing its chief use as the basis of currency. It is to the interest of America as the transient trustee of the world's gold to restore this gold to its original function, to pour it into the circulation of Europe from the bank vaults in America, and to import foreign securities instead of gold. America will learn to reinvest her favorable balance of payment. Even if she built up a sky-scraper of gold, it would be dead treasure. Make it work!

By doing this, America has to follow the traditional line which England has worked out during the last century. As to the future there arises a community of interest between the two leading creditor nations of the world—Great Britain and America. It is their mission to develop the world by investments, to build up the world's power to pay its debts by making it produce and by allowing it to pay. This is an economic foundation of the pacifist policy of the Anglo-Saxon world. As a field of investment Europe, with its population educated for industry and emerging from war and disruption,

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presents an analogy to a virgin soil where a small outlay will bring in great returns. What applies to Europe in general applies especially to Germany, which according to the best experts since 1919 has been improving her plant equipment to a high efficiency.

The Dawes report is the first move of America towards the reconstruction of Europe. It is more than mere advice. If it is to be a success, the hearty coöperation of the American people and government is required. This scheme, to be put in operation, requests to begin with a loan of $200,000,000 to Germany. But if any transfers of considerable amount to the Allies are to be made in the future, large additional sales of German railway and industrial bonds on foreign markets are indispensable. Foreign, means in this case, chiefly American. Confident of the acceptance of this scheme, Wall Street is even now loosening the restrictions on German credits and a credit up to $50,000,000 has been placed at the disposal of the German Gold Rediscount Bank. All these credits will be good if they are protected against the intrusion of militarists on either side of the Rhine. America alone, because of her power over foreign exchanges, is strong enough to enforce this condition. The American Commissioner, as the President of the Transfer Committee, if he is a strong and business-like man, might become an umpire whose decisions would be accepted by all parties with confidence. But in order to accomplish this difficult task, he must be backed by the American nation with a full sense of the responsibility that goes with wealth and power. I am happy to say that there is a growing realization of this responsibility in America. Wherever I have lectured in American universities I have found increasing interest in foreign affairs, the study of which is fostered by special professorships and by students' associations started in recent years. In the business world the saying of Mr. F. H. Sisson finds a growing number of adherents: "Never before have our domestic problems been so closely allied with and a part of our foreign problems." Both political parties agree in principle that American participation in the world affairs is "inevitable."

But it would be a great error to view America's world mission from the economic standpoint alone. The American nation is emotional—more so than the English or German. But for this very reason it is more easily aroused to moral idealism in the field of political action. The old Puritan and Quaker spirit is still alive and as a strong undercurrent it may eventually sweep away mere reasoning about profit or power. America becomes passionate where justice and liberty seem to be at stake. On the other hand, generosity and charity are America's noble inheritance from her religious past. The American youth was moved to enter the World War with enthusiasm by the belief that it was a war to make the world safe for democracy. Putting aside bitterness against her former enemy, she is feeding at present 1,000,000 German children. But America's high aspirations were defeated at Versailles and America turned away from Europe where the brutal forces which caused the war made the peace. But in the long run the American nation will not yield the purpose for which she fought. America will win her cause. At the present time the word of Lincoln applies to her even more than when it was uttered: "So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time as in the Providence of God it is now your high privilege to do."

G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz.

The Afternoon Orator

A Play in One Act

Scene—*A Parlor in the Plushengilt Hotel.*

Time—*The Present.*

(The curtain rises to discover about 85,000 dollars' worth of clothing and jewelry occupied by 100 women between the ages of thirty and sixty. During the first hour the audience is increased by late arrivals. During succeeding hours the audience dwindles steadily.)

Mrs. Pest—Are you Professor Gargle?

Mr. Halifax—No, I am . . .

Mrs. Pest—[*Interrupting*] Well, have you seen Professor Gargle?

Mr. Halifax—I don't know him.

Mrs. Pest—Who is the man with the beard, sitting near the platform?

Mr. Halifax—I don't know.

Mrs. Pest—Do you mind asking him if he is Professor Gargle?

Mr. Halifax—Certainly not.

Mrs. Pest—[*Later*] Oh, thank you so much. What did he say?

Mr. Halifax—He is Dr. Gezitz of the International Association of Starving Women and Children, with offices on Fifth Avenue.

Mrs. Pest—Great Heavens! Have we got to hear from him again?

Mr. Halifax—I see his name on the program.

Mrs. Pest—I wonder who put him there. I'll bet Mrs. Pusher did that. Mrs. Pusher is always sticking some one in on the program. Would you mind opening that window? [*Later*] Oh, thank you so much. Did you hurt your hand?

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MR. HALIFAX—Merely a trifle.

MRS. PEST—It was very kind of you. Thank you so much. Are you connected with the hotel?

MR. HALIFAX—I think I'm on the program this afternoon.

MRS. PEST—[*Examining program*] What is your name?

MR. HALIFAX—I am Mr. Halifax.

MRS. PEST—I don't see your name on the program. What were you to speak on?

MR. HALIFAX—I was requested to make an address on the Social Customs of Bogoland.

MRS. PEST—Well, you have been so kind, I'm going to squeeze in ten minutes for you anyway.

MR. HALIFAX—Ten minutes would scarcely be enough. I'm not insistent on making the address. If it crowds your program, we can omit it.

MRS. PEST—Did the Chairman of the Committee on Entertainment invite you?

MR. HALIFAX—I don't know who is the Chairman of the Committee on Entertainment. Mrs. Pusher invited me.

MRS. PEST—[*Frigidly*] Oh, I see. Well, you have been very kind. Thank you so much. I'll see if I can find you a place on the program. Do you know Professor Gargle?

MR. HALIFAX—No, I don't know him.

MRS. PEST—If he doesn't come, I'll give you his place on the program.

MR. HALIFAX—That would be very kind of you, I'm sure, but I do not insist on speaking.

MRS. PEST—Oh, don't leave. We have so much trouble with these programs. People are always disappointing us at the last minute. I'll squeeze in ten minutes.

MR. HALIFAX—But I don't care for ten minutes. I can't tell you anything about Bogoland in ten minutes.

MRS. PEST—Surely you can tell us about Bogoland in ten minutes. Where is Bogoland?

MR. HALIFAX—It is one of the outlying possessions of the Sultan of Pindaret.

MRS. PEST—Oh, isn't that lovely, and we are studying South America this week.

MR. HALIFAX—But this isn't South America. This is Africa.

MRS. PEST—I hope you aren't a British propagandist.

MR. HALIFAX—No, my dear lady, I'm a geologist.

MRS. PEST—We have such a hard time keeping out the British and German propagandists. What geology firm are you with? Oh, I beg your pardon. Geology. I was thinking of something else. I don't know what I was thinking of, but it was something else. I beg your pardon. I thank you ever so much. I want you to sit up here with me on the program, I mean the platform.

MRS. PICKET—I have been looking everywhere for you, Mrs. Pest. Allow me to present Professor Gargle. [*Professor Gargle is a very stout woman with a severe countenance, horn-rimmed spectacles, and a suggestion of a mustache.*]

MRS. PEST—Well, no wonder I couldn't find Professor Gargle. Mrs. Pusher told me that Professor Gargle had whiskers,—oh, no, she didn't. Now that I think of it, she said President Skillibotski of the Buttonhole Makers' Union had whiskers. I must find that man. I've got Dr. Gezitz for you, and I've got another man here that Mrs. Pusher put on the program.

MRS. PICKET—There is a man with whiskers talking to Mrs. Pusher over by the piano.

MRS. PEST—Yes, that must be he, I'll run over there and get him. [*One minute later*] Are you President Skillibotski of the Buttonhole Makers' Union?

MRS. PUSHER—[*Interrupting*] No, my dear, this is Chief Justice Bluff of the State Supreme Court. He is going to speak on Americanism.

MRS. PEST—[*Examining her program*] Does he take some one's place?

MRS. PUSHER—No, my dear, he is an added attraction.

MRS. PEST—How much time will you require, Judge, or I mean, Justice?

MRS. PUSHER—[*Interrupting*] Really, my dear, we can't limit a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It would be discourteous.

MRS. PEST—But we have such a long program. Have you seen President Skillibotski of the Buttonhole Makers' Union?

MRS. PUSHER—I met him in the elevator, and I told him we didn't have time for him this afternoon. That strike will last forever so we can take it up some other time. I am sure it will be all right with Myrtle, because she told me that she telephoned him because she was desperate. She was afraid the program was going to fall down, and you know how sensitive Myrtle is. It would just kill her if her program were to fall down. She had such a wonderful program last year. Do you remember? She was the one who got that red-faced man of the Stevedores' Union to tell us why they were striking. Wasn't he horrible? Really I think that is the best program we ever had. I just sat there and shivered.

MRS. PEST—Well, I certainly hope President Skillibotski doesn't come.

MRS. PUSHER—He won't, my dear.

MRS. PEST—I am going to start the program now. [*She mounts the platform, the speakers following her and seating themselves solemnly in a row, each examining his feet thoughtfully.*]

CHIEF JUSTICE BLUFF—I would appreciate it very much if I may speak first.

MRS. PEST—Very well. I'll call on you right away. [*Rising*] It gives me great pleasure to present Judge Bluff of the Chief State Supreme Court, who will address us on the subject of Americanism.

MRS. RUSTLE—I beg your pardon, Madam Chairman. As Chairman of the Music Committee,

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may I call your attention to the fact that a piano duet is first on the program?

MRS. PEST—I beg your pardon, Madam Chairman, certainly we will have the duet. [*A duet prevails.*]

MRS. PEST—[*Five minutes later*] It now gives me great pleasure to introduce Justice Bluff of the United States Supreme Court. [*Chief Justice Bluff rises and clears his throat.*]

MRS. RUSTLE—Madam Chairman, the Symphony Sisters who have just delighted us with their charming duet, have another engagement later in the afternoon. They are on our program twice. May I request that they be permitted to give their second number now, so that they may leave? [*Chief Justice Bluff bows graciously and sits down. The second duet prevails.*]

MRS. PEST—It now gives me great pleasure to present Magistrate Bluff of the United States Supreme Court of our State.

CHIEF JUSTICE BLUFF—It is a great pleasure for me to appear before my new fellow citizens. The future of this country depends upon the women. [*Loud applause*] I told my wife the other day, etc. [*The Chief Justice speaks for forty-five minutes.*]

MRS. PEST—[*At conclusion of the address, during which she squirmed constantly and examined her program*] We are certainly delighted to have had the Judge with us and to hear his inspiring address, and to know that he has such confidence in the women as voters. It now gives me great pleasure to present Professor Holocost, who will address us on the subject of the Social Customs of Afghanistan.

MR. HALIFAX—[*In a stage whisper*] The name is Halifax.

MRS. PEST—I should have said Professor Halifax.

MR. HALIFAX—[*In a stage whisper*] I am not a Professor.

MRS. PEST—Mr. Holocost will introduce himself. He is not on the program and I'm not familiar with his title.

MR. HALIFAX—Madam Chairman, and ladies: I was simply explaining that I have no title. I am a geologist. . . .

MRS. RUSTLE—[*Interrupting*] I beg your pardon, Madam Chairman, but I have promised Signora Raviola of the Italian Opera Company of Uruguay that she would have this place on the program. You will notice that this is her place on the program.

MRS. PEST—Certainly, I beg your pardon, Madam Chairman of the Music Committee. Will you wait just a minute, Dr. Holocost?

MR. HALIFAX—Certainly.

[*Signora Raviola sings. A door at the rear of the hall opens and a very small man with very prominent whiskers enters.*]

MRS. PEST—Who on earth is that?

MRS. PUSHER—That is President Skillibotski of the Buttonhole Makers' Union.

PRESIDENT SKILLIBOTSKI—[*At the conclusion of the song*] Miss President and Brothers, I was invited here to tell you about why is the strike. When I come up in the elevator, one of your brother members says I can't speak. Why is that I want to know. [*His voice has now reached high "C".*]

MRS. PEST—Certainly you are to speak. You are on the program. You may have ten minutes. Come right up here on the platform.

[*President Skillibotski speaks for twenty-five minutes, stops very suddenly and rushes out of the hall.*]

MRS. PEST—We will now hear from Professor Gargle, that is, unless there is some more music. Is there any more music, Madam Chairman of the Music Committee?

MRS. RUSTLE—Yes, Madam Chairman, Miss Gladys Goof will now favor us with one of her beautiful selections.

MRS. PEST—[*Addressing Mr. Halifax*] Will you move the piano around a little farther?

MRS. RUSTLE—Miss Goof plays the harp.

MRS. PEST—Where is the harp? [*Addressing Mr. Halifax*] Will you help Miss Goof bring her harp nearer the platform?

MISS GOOF—[*Smiling but very nervous*] Madam Chairman, I can't find the harp. It was brought here to the hotel, but it must have been delivered to the wrong hall.

MRS. PEST—That is too bad. These hotel people are so stupid. Will the Sergeant at Arms please go and find the harp? [*The Sergeant at Arms departs pompously. This is the first time she has had anything to do since last April when Mrs. Van Rocks fainted.*] Now, while they are looking for the harp, will you make your speech, Professor Gargle? [*Professor Gargle nods assent.*] It gives me great pleasure to present Professor Gargle, who will address us on the Social Customs of Afghanistan.

PROFESSOR GARGLE—I was to speak on Diseases of Tulips.

MRS. PEST—Oh, yes, so you were, I beg your pardon, ladies. Professor Gargle will address us on the Diseases of Tulips. I'm sure we are all interested in tulips. I've looked forward with the greatest pleasure to hearing this address from a woman who has distinguished herself in her chosen profession. I present Professor Gargle. [*Applause.*]

[*Professor Gargle speaks twenty-three minutes.*]

SERGEANT AT ARMS—Madam Chairman, the harp has been delivered to the parlor on the second floor, and the servants refuse to move it without a written order.

MRS. PEST—[*To Mr. Halifax*] Dr. Holocost, won't you please go and get that harp? I don't think I'm going to have time for you to speak anyway this afternoon. I do hope you'll help me out. Thank you so much. While we are waiting for the

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harp, we will hear from Dr. Gezitz who brings a message about the poor dear starving children of Afghanistan.

MRS. PUSHER—Madam Chairman, I must beg your pardon, I asked Dr. Gezitz to go and help find the harp.

MRS. RUSTLE—Madam Chairman, while we are waiting for Dr. Gezitz and Professor Holocost and the harp, we might have the song by Mlle. Furore, the renowned Swedish contralto, who has favored us this afternoon.

MRS. PEST—It gives me great pleasure to present Mlle. Furore. [*The song follows.*]

SERGEANT AT ARMS—[*Returning*] Madam Chairman, will you please have Miss Goof sign a written order for the harp? The house officer has arrested Dr. Gezitz and Dr. Halifax for trying to remove the harp.

MRS. PEST—Isn't that just dreadful. Miss Goof, I think you had better go with the Sergeant at Arms and identify the harp. [*Miss Goof rises and follows the Sergeant at Arms.*] While we are waiting for Dr. Holocost and Miss Goof and Dr. Gezitz and the harp, I will entertain a motion in connection with the proposed change in the constitution. You will recall that we discussed changing Article eighteen at the last meeting.

MRS. LAWNORDER—Point of order, Madam Chairman, this is a social meeting and we could not change the constitution at this meeting.

MRS. PEST—We could discuss it, and take a test vote on it and then some one could move at the next meeting that the proceedings of this meeting go into the minutes.

MRS. LAWNORDER—That would be contrary to the by-laws. I don't think we can do it.

MRS. PEST—If you just wouldn't object we could go ahead and do it anyway.

MRS. LAWNORDER—But it's unconstitutional.

MRS. PUSHER—What difference does that make? Madam Chairman, I move that Article eighteen of the constitution be amended to read "And annual dues of fifty cents."

MRS. LAWNORDER—I insist that the motion is out of order.

MRS. PEST—I thought the dues were to be fifty cents a month.

MRS. PUSHER—Well, I'll change the motion and make it that I move to amend Article eighteen whatever way it was before we amended it last time. You all remember what we were talking about and that is my motion.

MRS. LAWNORDER—But that isn't a motion.

MRS. PEST—Here comes Miss Goof.

MISS GOOF—It wasn't my harp.

MRS. PEST—Where is the Sergeant at Arms?

MISS GOOF—She is trying to persuade the house officer to release the two gentlemen who tried to carry off the harp.

MRS. PEST—Will you please go and look into the situation and see what can be done, Mrs. Pusher?

[*Mrs. Pusher hastens from the room. Two Greek hotel employes in blue denim enter with a harp.*]

MISS GOOF—There's my harp.

MRS. RUSTLE—We will now have the selection by Miss Goof. [*Miss Goof plays while the audience watches the rear and side doors expectantly. Just as the music is concluded, Dr. Gezitz and Mr. Halifax enter. They mistake Miss Goof's applause for their own, and bow.*]

MRS. PEST—We will now hear Dr. Holocost on the subject of the Religious Customs of Bogusland. Professor, perhaps you had first better tell us just where Bogusland is.

MRS. PUSHER—Madam Chairman, may I suggest that we hear Mr. Halifax some other time? He is here in response to my invitation, but he is attending the wrong meeting. I am a member of the Tuesday Afternoon Club also, and they are meeting on the second floor. Those people are waiting for him down there. I would have spoken of this before but I thought perhaps he was to address both meetings.

[*Mr. Halifax, bewildered, stares at Mrs. Pusher, who smiles sweetly.*]

MRS. PEST—Certainly. Then, we'll let Dr. Gezitz tell us how the children starve. [*Whispering to Mrs. Pusher*] My dear, can't you induce them to take Mr. Gezitz also? It's awfully late. This is the longest program we've ever had.

MRS. PUSHER—[*Whispering*] Well, it's always that way, either the program is too long or every one fails to come.

MRS. PEST—My dear Professor Holocost, before you go, won't you please help Miss Goof lift the harp off the platform? Thank you so much.

[*As Mr. Halifax exits, slowly, he runs his fingers through his hair several times.*]

CHESTER T. CROWELL.

Veteran

On a morning such as this
He comes out early to the curb . . . who knows . . .
On mornings such as this
When life leaps in whole bodies like a colt that pulls
upon the leash . . .
Men give to what they hate . . .
And shudder . . . and walk on elate
With beautiful loud feet upon the silence
That rears up like a formless head out of the blind stone.

And so . . . on mornings such as this . . .
Before the air has lost that sweet astringency . . .
He comes more early to the curb
And feels the sunlight . . . soft as a warm fleece . . .
The joyous light
That gambles down the pavement like a lamb
And stumbles on you with its shining feet.

LOLA RIDGE.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Defense of Leisure

SIR: Mrs. Wholey's article fills us with despair and we do not doubt that if we shared her point of view we should soon be driven to scrubbing linoleum.

Fortunately though progress may have abolished private houses, flowers, candles, gracious manners, leisure—civilization is still there to maintain these superfluities. There still exists, thank God, a form of talk which is not an interchange of technicalities in club rooms—talk which evokes and stimulates, which vivifies and creates, striking sparks out of the moment, talk which gallops across the countries of the mind without map or signpost, talk let loose without the chaperonage of experts.

Mrs. Wholey's friends believe that leisure (even when you have earned it) is not a gift and an opportunity but a form of refuse. The wretched Marian however much she may refuse to admit the fact does want consideration, amenities—perhaps even had she not be taught to regard these things as useless, superseded (by what?) and possibly even wicked, she might enjoy them.

Another lady reads poetry—a habit condemned by Mrs. Wholey with sublime naivete in the words "she will never teach it, and she never can write it." Has any one ever been able to teach poetry and how many people can write it?

Since when has reading ceased to be a key to the masterpieces of the world (in spite of radio and other thought-saving appliances) the great open sesame of the uncreative minds?

Mrs. Wholey's friends are rich and able to travel. May we suggest that they should go to Europe—a continent no doubt considered obsolete by Mrs. Wholey—and examine the curious state of affairs which still exists there—private houses unaware that their day is ended, conversation (tainted no doubt by the ignorant eighteenth century) that has not yet been quarantined into an interchange of technicalities, poetry ignorant that its function consists in being learned or taught in university courses for the competent young.

A EUROPEAN.

Washington, D. C.

Nicholas Murray Butler and Prohibition

SIR: May I express my very strong disapproval of your attitude shown in your mild dissent regarding the opinions of Nicholas Murray Butler on prohibition. I am sorry to see the editors of The New Republic even measurably in the same class with that distinguished individual. Most intelligent observers are agreed as to the enormous benefits which have come to the country as a whole from the Eighteenth Amendment. I prefer the opinion of Governor Pinchot to that of either The New Republic or President Butler. It is unfortunate that men who pose as liberals should let their eyes be blinded by sentimental ideas regarding the Bill of Rights, to the extent of shutting out the greater rights of the public. If the sponsors for the Bill of Rights had known what the future might bring forth, possibly they might have been less enthusiastic for unlimited freedom of individuals. At a time when no person (and especially a child) is safe from being run down by drunken motorists, even on the sidewalks, any man who excuses or gives any comfort to such criminals, is an enemy of the public. The Volstead Law is not an honest effort at enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, since it permitted men with "cellars" practically unlimited freedom, but that fact is no excuse for citizens who refuse the country the benefit of whatever good that law contains. Most of the active violators of the law are foreigners and the country would be greatly benefitted if they could be deported, and their sympathizers should go with them.

EDWARD J. BROWN.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A Banker for President

SIR: This morning as I was mending the frayed edges of my husband's coat-sleeves, and thinking of the New England woolen mills, working only three days a week, while our raw wool is being shipped out of the country, to be finished in foreign mills, the very words that describe the situation came to me—the break-down of the internal mechanism of exchange. Not that consumers do not receive what their work is worth, but I do claim that they do not receive enough purchasing power to keep our factories running. Now does it not lie with industry to decide whether the wages, salaries and dividends, that industry is able to dispense to the public, are sufficient to buy in the goods that industry wishes to dispose of, and is equipped to manufacture? It will not be denied that consumers could consume many times our present industrial output, if some technical exchange mechanism could be invented to compass that end, without raising prices, and thus defeating the rational objective of production, that is—consumption. Woud not industrialists be better advised if, instead of asking, "How much wages and salaries and dividends can we afford to dispense," they should ask "How much purchasing-power does the public need to remove this glut of goods from the market?"

Since the slowing up of industry is happening in a Presidential year, ought we not ask ourselves if our play-boy politicians are mentally equipped to answer the above questions?

Believing as I do, that only our leading bankers understand our money mechanism sufficiently well to be entrusted with the changes necessary to achieve our national aim—a balanced industrial meal—wherein consumption nicely matches production, I am in favor of nominating Mr. Morgan (J. P.) on one ticket and Mr. Mellon on the other. These men both have characters to lose and reputations to sustain. They also have pocketbooks to protect. They understand finance. Just as the housemother, when she controls the purse, can set a sufficient table for all the family, even for the little cripple who cannot work, or the baby, and for grandfather and grandmother, who are too old to produce, but not to consume—just so almost any one of our intelligent bankers, if President, could put through safe legislation, adequate to the end in view. How about it?

E. T. B.

Bay Shore, New York.

Will the Democrats Choose a Progressive?

SIR: The defeat of Poincaré and French Junkerism in the recent elections, coupled with the liberal victories in England and Germany, indicates that the world is once more turning towards liberalism as its guiding star. Dispatches from Washington inform us that the reactionary leaders of our own government are apprehensive, fearing similar results in the elections this autumn. Democratic success in November is contingent on the nomination at the New York Convention of a genuine, sincere progressive, who appeals to the popular imagination, and who can unite the various factions of the party. And the hope for a liberal administration coming into power on March 4 is itself contingent on Democratic success. There may be a third party movement, but it can hardly hope to capture the election.

The time has now come for all liberals to join the liberals in the Democratic party in an effort to bring about the nomination in New York of a progressive Democrat. I believe The New Republic should come out frankly for a candidate who measures up to its ideals, and I urge for its consideration the name of Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana. My reasons are these:

He has proven his liberalism by supporting consistently progressive agricultural and labor measures, by opposing that Bourbonism of which Mitchel Palmer, Harry Daugherty and W. J. Burns were exemplars, and by urging a liberal foreign policy, including admission into the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice.

He has won the imagination of the country by single-handedly exposing the oil scandals and corruption of the present administration, in the face of bitter opposition from the majority party in the Senate, and from President Coolidge.

He is the best person to campaign on these scandals, which will be the trump card of the Democratic campaign, and a basis for the united action of all factions in his party.

He represents Montana, a state in the Northwest, the centre of dissatisfaction with the present administration, and the main sector of this year's campaign. In short, Senator Thomas J. Walsh measures up to The New Republic's ideals, and should receive its support at this time.

WALTER MEASDAY, JR.

Plainfield, New Jersey.

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Old New York

Old New York: False Dawn, The Old Maid, The Spark, New Year's Day, by Edith Wharton. New York: D. Appleton and Company. $1.25 a volume.

MRS. WHARTON'S Old New York is a set of four novelettes dealing, respectively with the 'forties, the 'fifties, the 'sixties and the 'seventies. In the first, a rich and complacent New Yorker sends his son on the Grand Tour with instructions to buy some Guido Renis and Carlo Dolcis—with the result that the son, who on the trip has fallen in with the young Ruskin, buys Carpaccios and Mantegnas instead and when he returns is disinherited. In the second, two Victorian ladies, who have both been in love with the same man, carry on a ferocious life-long struggle under the outward semblance of calm respectability. In the third, a simple and chivalrous man who has fought as a boy at Bull Run, flares up for a moment in the polo-playing society of the 'nineties, which no longer has a place for him. And in the fourth, a woman whom a cultivated young lawyer has rescued, by marrying her, from dependence and humiliation, repays her debt, when he has developed tuberculosis, by carrying on an affair with another man and using the money he gives her to pay the doctor's bills; the husband dies and she is left to fade away in a twilight of social obloquy.

All these, as will be seen, have their point; they have something to say about American society. But there is not much in them which Mrs. Wharton had not already done more effectively in The Age of Innocence. Mrs. Wharton's short stories have always been on the whole, more machine-like and less real than her novels; there is not usually much in them to admire beyond the expertness of the professional—the agreeable dexterity of a Sardou with not particularly significant situations. But in these stories, which are offered us as history, we demand significance or nothing—and what we get, along with some valuable observation of character and manner, is still a good deal of Sardou. The stories in Old New York do not, on the one hand, follow life quite faithfully enough to be impressive as social studies and, on the other, are not quite dramatically enough developed to be satisfactory as conventional short stories. The man in The Spark, for example—who has "been brought up on the best books—Scott and Washington Irving and old what's-his-name who wrote the Spectator," who has enlisted as a boy in the Civil War but who has "stopped living" at nineteen and with his kindliness, his dignity and his quotations from Byron and Gray, drifts on into the frivolous days of the end of the century—is a recognizable and significant American type; but Mrs. Wharton has executed his portrait with a little too much obviousness and slickness. She has always been the Sargent of American fiction and as time goes on seems to become more and more willing to deal facilely with her subjects.

Perhaps it is Mrs. Wharton's long residence abroad which makes her novels run a little thin nowadays. In Summer, her first novel published since she had been living in France, the American colors are already paling a little; A Son at the Front, which deals with Paris during the war, has perhaps more body than any of the others. The Age of Innocence, surely one of the best of her novels, succeeds through the intensity of the emotion it conveys rather than through the sort of vividness she once commanded; its settings and characters, admirable as they are, have some of the vagueness of memories. And the realities of Old New York are vaguer and more remote still. Nonetheless, as details in Mrs. Wharton's extraordinary history of the New York civilization these stories are, of course, not negligible. The inferior boundary of that history is now marked by the first story in the collection, False Dawn; the superior boundary, I suppose, by A Son at the Front—though she leaves the New York scene itself with the elaborate and violent Custom of the Country, in which the city is already becoming too complicated and chaotic for the author of The Age of Innocence much to enjoy grappling with it any longer. Too chaotic and vulgar today; yesterday too correct and narrow. Mrs. Wharton has written the tragedy of the New York soul caught between the millstones of these two eras. She is probably the only absolutely first-rate literary artist, occupying himself predominantly with New York, that New York has ever produced. Henry James was born here and understood the city well, yet never treated it intensively. But the brick fronts of Washington Square, the brown monuments of Park Avenue, the glittering apartments of the upper westside—Madison Square, the Grand Central Station, the Weehawken Ferry and the downtown office-buildings seem still to burn with a sort of incandescence from having become the prisons of Mrs. Wharton's passion and the symbols of her indignation.

EDMUND WILSON.

The Meaning of Meaning

The Meaning of Meaning. A Story of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism, by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

MESSRS. OGDEN AND RICHARDS, with the authors of two supplementary essays, Dr. Malinowski and Dr. Crookshank, have written a significant book, and one which lacks little of being of first-class importance. The lack, as I take it, is primarily one of style and method of presentation in spite of the fact that the book concerns language and its influence. As it stands, the work is likely, as far as its influence goes, to be not quite technical enough to make the appeal, which its intrinsic merits deserve, to the special group of philosophers and logicians, and to be too technical to reach the unprofessional public for which it also has a genuine message. I have the impression that this position, somewhere between the two proverbial stools, is largely due to the fact that the authors are primarily concerned with the development of a "science of symbolism," while in order to lay the foundation for this subject, or for their new approach to it, they have been obliged to make a new attack upon the problem of meanings— a problem which takes them into the heart of current controversies in epistemology, logic and pyschology. The two topics are organically connected with each other, and yet it is possible that if they had been separately treated, the audience of philosophers on one hand, and of grammarians, philologists and literary students on the other, would each have received a clearer idea of what it is all about. At the same time, it is only fair to say that the book is one of those which will be much easier to read after it has performed its function of introducing a new point of view than it is now, when it has to meet a body of precon-

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ceptions attached to the older points of view which the authors are criticizing.

The practical importance of the work is well indicated in a preface by the authors. They point out that language is the most important of all the instruments of civilization; that matters once left to a few are now settled by discussions in which a vast multitude participate, and that in our enforced hasty reädaptation to totally new circumstances, deficiencies in the instrument and technique of communication and mutual understanding are of paramount importance. A precondition of any clarification of our generic social situation is thus a change in the level of communication, a need which is ultimately identical with the problem of education. The study of language and the elevation of the import and utilization of symbols to the rank of a science are indispensable parts of this task.

The peculiar position of language, as indicated by the authors, is that it refers to things—in the most general sense of all kinds of situations and objects—through the medium of ideas or thought, in which speaker and listener are implicated, the matter being still further complicated by the fact that the function of many words is emotive rather than symbolic: that is, words are used to arouse attitudes as well as to make statements. The great defect in common practice and in traditional theories consists in an over-simplification in virtue of which words are taken to refer to objects directly, or to have an intrinsic meaning, instead of through the intermediary of the thoughts, purposes and emotions of the communicator and hearer. The evil effects of this neglect upon both popular beliefs and acts and upon theories of philosophers and students of linguistics are persuasively pointed out by the authors. Almost everyone would assent theoretically to the general proposition of the three-fold factors in language (four-fold if the hearer or reader be included), the evidence adduced by the authors as to the evils concretely wrought by assuming that words apply to things directly is most impressive. Equally significant is the authors' demonstration that as soon as the place of ideas in making the reference of words to things is recognized, we are forced to recognize also that the idea involved does not stand alone, but is an integral part of the whole system of ideas and experiences which for the most part are left implicit and are not consciously avowed by either speaker or hearer. Hence the habit is strengthened of regarding meaning as a definite and single entity embodied in a word.

At this point the supplementary essay by Dr. Malinowski is most helpful. He takes the instance of words uttered by natives of New Guinea and shows how utterly incomprehensible they are until one knows first the immediate context in which they were uttered and then the underlying customs involved in the situation. I should indeed advise all readers to begin the book with a reading of this supplementary essay. With its concrete analysis it vividly introduces the readers to that conception of the relation of language,thought, purpose, activities and things which is entertained by Messrs. Ogden and Richards, and may serve as a substitute for the more theoretical discussions of the earlier chapters. In fact, many readers might profitably postpone a reading of the earlier chapters until they had read Dr. Malinowski's essays, and had followed it by Chapter Five on the Canons of Symbolism, in which the authors most definitely present their constructive proposition as to the development of a science of symbolism.

The volume, it seems to me, is properly to be viewed as a somewhat fragmentary introduction to further and more systematic discussion. Speaking from the standpoint of specialized philosophy, I am convinced that the authors are correct in their contention that much needed philosophy reforms wait upon the execution of the task of critical examination of the instrument, language; and that from this point of view alone it is to be hoped that they will continue their labors. But this technical service is slight compared with the larger function of clarifying and perfecting the use of the tool employed in all personal contacts and in all discussions of social issues.

JOHN DEWEY.

America Unplaced

America's Place in the World, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: The Century Company. $2.00.

IN Europe Since 1918, Dr. Gibbons gave us last year a survey, succinct, precise, impartial, of the conditions in the various countries of Europe, a distinctly useful enterprise. The present volume apparently undertakes to complete the circuit by including the United States, but it must be admitted that Dr. Gibbons's vision where his own country is concerned is by no means so clear and just. Dr. Gibbons begins his survey by predicating as the true foreign policy of the United States that of isolation, "the refusal to take sides or become involved in the internal quarrels of Europe." He gravely assures us that "our intervention in the World War was not an infringement of this traditional policy," because we sedulously refrained from calling our associates allies; because we did not allow our soldiers to be battalioned with their units; because we kept strict account of all advances to them in money or kind; because we maintained official ignorance of their secret treaties; because "when the war was over, ipso facto American collaboration with the Entente Powers ceased." Dr. Gibbons conveniently forgets that during the war we stated terms of peace for the entire Entente, with the full approval of our "associates," that we negotiated the preärmistice agreement with Germany on their behalf, that our representatives at Paris were responsible for such hopeful features of the Treaty of Versailles as the Polish boundary, the Saar Valley, the handing over of Southern Tyrol to Italy, and the enlargement of the reparations to impracticable dimensions by the inclusion of pensions. Dr. Gibbons affects to think that we were fighting merely "to defend our own national interests." How does he account then, for our joining the Entente in the brutal blockade of Germany after the war, to our material loss and moral disgrace? Or does he suppose that we left our troops on the Rhine to collect an indemnity from Germany which our alien property custodian had already made fairly sure of? Later on, Dr. Gibbons regrets the refusal of Europe "to believe that we participated in the World War for any other reason than to save our investments abroad and to use the Entente Powers to fight for us against the Germany that we were beginning to fear," but this belief would seem to be in exact agreement with his original thesis.

This inconsistency or disingeniousness with which Dr. Gibbons ignores the situation created by the obligations which the United States assumed when she broke from

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her isolation and threw her force without stint or limit into a European quarrel, pervades his entire book. Under an appearance of sweet reasonableness he offers his countrymen their customary satisfaction of eating their cake and having it too. One traditional policy of the United States, by which it has furnished refuge and opportunity to an oppressed Europe, Dr. Gibbons refuses to consider as an obligation. When he writes of our foreign-born population he becomes rhetorically apoplectic:

> Our Irish politicians are in Boston; our oppressed Jews are in New York; our quarreling Poles are in Buffalo; our unpatriotic Germans are in Milwaukee; our churlish Hungarians are in the Pennsylvania coal-fields; our fifty-seven varieties of Slavs with Bolshevik tendencies, of Greeks not knowing what government they want, and of black-shirted Italians, are all over the United States. We have a population far greater than the Ruhr, hungry every day through its own fault, and not knowing it [sic] or acknowledging it [sic], which detests us and our social order as much as the Germans detest the French.

Similarly he joins the Chemical Warfare and the American Legion against those who favor disarmament —on the ground that "their proposals tend to destroy the wholesome and constructive influence that the United States might bring to bear to do away with the evil of competitive armaments." This reminds us of President Coolidge's statesman-like declaration that "the only hope for peace is in the perfection of the arts of war."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

City Planning and the American Precedent

Town Planning and Town Development, by S. D. Adshead. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.00.

THE city planning movement in America has gone through a number of stages; and it will help us to understand Professor Adshead's little treatise if we pause to consider the weaknesses of our American tradition.

America is the land of the reformer, the land of the clean start. In the layout of our cities this characteristic has been uppermost, from the time that William Penn cut out a square in the midst of Philadelphia, and laid numerous other squares rectilinearly on each side. The Romans had used the square plan in their encampments, possibly because they were farmers, and proud of their straight furrow, and the mediaeval princes of India had used the square again in their gardens and tanks. The reason in each case was similar and plain—a geometric figure expresses the maximum of human direction, as against the more natural curves that follow the contour of the land, or the lines that halt and turn aside to respect some vested interest, a house, a tree, a customary meeting place.

When the plan of New York was made in 1811 this practice of providing a rectangular framework received a powerful reinforcement from the habit of realty speculation which was rife after the Revolutionary War; for the rectangular plot can be bartered with ease and sold by the front foot; and there was scarcely a town in America which did not in austere parallelograms map out its manifest destiny for the next century or more. The convenience of the checkerboard plan served the hasty and the avaricious and it was by means of this plan that the American city received its characteristic imprint.

The qualities of the checkerboard plan are manifest; the principal one is that the streets can be named by number and found with ease by a stranger; and that, without foresight, without knowledge of the situation, without any understanding of the processes of city growth, the meanest tyro in the engineer's office can exercise all the art necessary in laying the city out. The defects of the checkerboard plan should also be manifest but it took us nearly a hundred years to find them out; and even now only the student of town planning is intimately aware of them. First, the checkerboard is laid on the natural topography without any reference to contours; this means that on irregular territory vast sums of money and energy will be spent in grading streets which, under a more subtle plan, would have gained in convenience and in interest by following the curve of the land. Again, the checkerboard plan makes no distinction between the uses that various parts of the city will be put to: it gives the same width of roadway to the commercial district and to the residence district; in spite of the fact that the first usually turns out too narrow, and the second much too wide. Its failure to allot sites for public buildings, both for the municipality and for the neighborhood, put a crown on its long list of defects: the inaccessibility, the lack of dignity, the absence of any expressed relation to the rest of the community which results from our haphazard placing of public buildings is directly the result of the blank imbecility of the checkerboard plan.

The planner of Washington, Major L'Enfant, was aware of this last defect; and he superimposed on the gridiron system provided by the commissioners of Washington, a series of radiating diagonals, designed to bring into coherent pattern the White House and the House of Congress, and the major departments of the government. In the revival of Major L'Enfant's scheme in 1901, after it had lapsed for a century, the principle of providing an axis for the plan and thrusting diagonal avenues through, was hailed as almost the be-all, and end-all of intelligent planning. It is quite true, indeed, that the plan of Washington is superior to that of New York or any other checkerboard city: but it is superior with respect to only one function—the placing of important public buildings; and it leaves out of account other problems that genuine city planning must face, namely: the coördination of industry and housing, the elimination of wasteful methods of rapid transit, and the rehabilitation of neighborhoods.

In the burst of admiration that followed the dignified planning of the main buildings in the Chicago World's Fair, the city planners and municipal reformers of the following decade treated city planning as a mode of surface-prettification; and none of the plans then formulated tended to alter the essential development of the American city. Our central districts have become more congested, as the steel frames of the skyscrapers have mounted into the air; our dormitory areas have spilled farther away; and between the two, every day, the citizens of

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our great towns have been pumped back and forth in man-sewers, which have all the engineering virtues of the ancient Cloaca Maxima in Rome, except its relative spaciousness. All this was "progress;" so much so that provincial centres like Pittsburg, with its irregular topography and naturally decentralized industrial towns on the mudflats of the rivers, itch to imitate the transit horrors of the metropolis, in order to qualify as a "great city."

As a result of numerous reports on traffic difficulties and congestion, New York City led the way in drafting a series of laws which limited the height of buildings, and established the character of various districts by "zones." This also has been hailed as a great triumph and as the way of salvation; but unfortunately for our optimism most of our numerous zoning and districting laws have come into being after the mischief has been done; and their chief effect has been to solidify established practices, which favor congestion and high site values, in the central district, and work effectively to prevent the decentralization of industry into areas which are now marked out and set aside eternally as suburbs. Moreover, although our skyscrapers must now be set back at intervals, and although the tower-form that they now take has improved the skyline—to the great enjoyment of aviators and people in ferryboats—we have done nothing to widen our streets in relation to the increasing load of people the land is now made to bear.

Our American cities in the nineteenth century were planned for about fifty houses to the acre, say 250 people. In order to accommodate the office-dwellers in the Chicago loop for example, if a minimum of twenty stories were the restriction, the streets would have to be 241 feet wide, according to the calculations of Mr. Raymond Unwin in a recent number of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects. I may seem to be dwelling on technicalities; but in truth I am only explaining why, with our present methods of city-development, the inhabitants of our great cities must travel in crowded trains, work in offices under artificial light, and ultimately bear the burden for the vast increase of rents in the Central District. The sort of zoning our realty interests will stand for is a nostrum. The minimum becomes a maximum; and towns now tend to fill up the air, as before they spread out all over the country and filled up the ground. With his particular array of precedents and defects in mind, Professor Adshead's book is a valuable antidote. As Professor of Town Planning in London University, he sees "cities as histories in stone." For him, the character and quality of the human hive is as much a fact in natural history as the homes of the mud-wasps or the ants are for the student of entomology: the chapter on the Sociological Basis of Town Planning, and that on the relation between towns touches aspects of the subject which are scarcely recognized in American books of the same order, like that edited by Mr. John Nolen on City Planning. Professor Adshead discusses zoning from the English point of view, with due caution, and with that difference of temper which corresponds to a belief in organic constitutions, based upon cumulative changes, as against paper constitutions cast and amended in block; and this very difference is a useful corrective to our own bias.

In his final chapters on the British Town Planning and Housing Acts, Professor Adshead puts a great deal of material in a small compass; and he shows quite plainly how British town planning, through its achievements in Letchworth, in the war villages, and in the municipally developed suburbs of London and Liverpool, has passed beyond our American movement, which is still too much immersed in problems of transportation and zoning to deal more comprehensively and humanely with city development.

If none of Professor Adshead's material is uniquely new, it at any rate represents fresh observation and experience; and I trust it will not get into the hands of the experts alone, for a city, like a language, is the product of a whole people. Yesterday our American city expressed the haste and dead-sureness of the pioneer; today it expresses the morbid, relentless inertia of the machine-process; but tomorrow it may express something different.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Harry

Harry, by Neith Boyce. New York: Thomas Seltzer. $2.00.

A CHILD study: the direct, unaffected account of a boy's adolescence by his mother. His mother, the author, is a modern woman who possesses a powerful maternal instinct. Despite this biological fact she is equally conscious of the freedom and tolerance which other lives demand.

The boy's story is the particular case of an American boy whose receptive nature is afflicted by all the mass-idealisms which are current upon our great continent. Although the child ostensibly of gifted and intellectual parents of the leisure class, he is stirred by all the buncombe and hokus-pokus which have been afloat here since Jesse James and Barnum and Buffalo Bill, so that Harry does not want to become poet or a philologist, but a cowboy! Time and again, he breaks down his schooling to "go West," to open plains and skies, and the roving hordes of cattle.

There his end comes in such a sharp and unlovely anticlimax as life constantly offers the importunate. It is all told very simply, the mother sentiments are straightforward and delivered without artifice. For the large public to which the book appeals it is a singular and yet an immediate document, this of the liberal mother and father who could not prevail against the larger American environment.

In recent years the potency of Barnum and Buffalo Bill fables have waned somewhat, probably in ratio to the increasing pressure of a hardening capitalist society. Yet there are signs and legends on all the walls and in all the subways which induce our children to become "national salesmen," movie directors, "aggressive," "clean-cut." There is, in short, a mass religion or mythology, continually at work upon the youth of the nation, which is one of the most indigenous and colorful, as well as the most baffling, aspects of American life.

J. V.

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A Tramp's Opera

True Travelers—a Tramp's Opera, by W. D. Davies. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

HERE is the answer to those who demand amusement first, last and only, from the theatre. To drive dull care away is True Travelers' triumphant excuse for being. Situation, dialogue and winsome lyrics are "peart an' sassy" and pungently frivolous as an eighteenth century print. The Hogarthian tone in plot and characters creates a phantasmagoria of airy rascalities—but perish the fleeting suggestion that any imagery but Mr. Nicholson's should illustrate the Tramp's libretto! His decorations are the very ebullience of insect spirits—of which the ecstatic cicada fluting to the sun is the high chorister, —his penetrating trill, cheery, effortless and utterly irresponsible, the persistent mood of the entire divertissement. Let not the grudging ants of criticism dismiss his lay as jazz, however! It has within it phrases, stanzas, lyrics, as delicate as the tracery of the cicada's wings, with the iridescence of true poesy upon them,—satire too, as whimsically impertinent as Whistler's butterfly.

Our suggestion for the orchestration is flutes and clarinets, horns and bassoons, bells, triangles, cymbals and drums, with fiddles—not violins!—for the lyrics, and the music should jingle and boom like a little, old-fashioned carousel, upon which Mr. Davies whirls us away from the clamor of present-day Conflicts, Crises and Crusades for a melodious merry-go-round.

D. B. W.

Contributors

WILLIAM E. DODD has been a professor of American history at the University of Chicago since 1908. He is the author of a number of volumes on historical subjects, among them Jefferson's Rückkehr zur Politik.

FRANK ERNEST HILL, a Californian, is a graduate of Stanford University, and one of the editors of The Measure.

CHESTER ROWELL is a former editor and publisher of the Fresno Republican. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention and the Progressive National Convention of 1912 and is at present a member of the California Railroad Commission.

HAZEL HALL, whose recent death the New Republic regretfully announces, was a frequent and gifted contributor of poetry to current periodicals.

JOHN W. OWENS, a writer on political topics, is on the staff of the Baltimore Sun.

G. VON SCHULZE-GAEVERNITZ is a professor of law and political economy at the University of Freiburg in Baden, Germany.

CHESTER T. CROWELL, a newspaper man for a number of years and formerly an editorial writer for the New York Evening Post, is a contributor of stories and articles to current publications.

LOLA RIDGE is the author of several books of poetry, which include "The Ghetto, and Other Poems," and "Sun Up."

JOHN DEWEY, philosopher, educator and writer, is the author of Studies in Logical Theory, School and Society, and Democracy and Politics. His most recent book is Human Nature and Conduct, An Introduction to Social Psychology.

LEWIS MUMFORD is the author of The Story of Utopias. His most recent book, Sticks and Stones: An Interpretation of American Architecture and Civilization, will be brought out this fall by Boni and Liveright.

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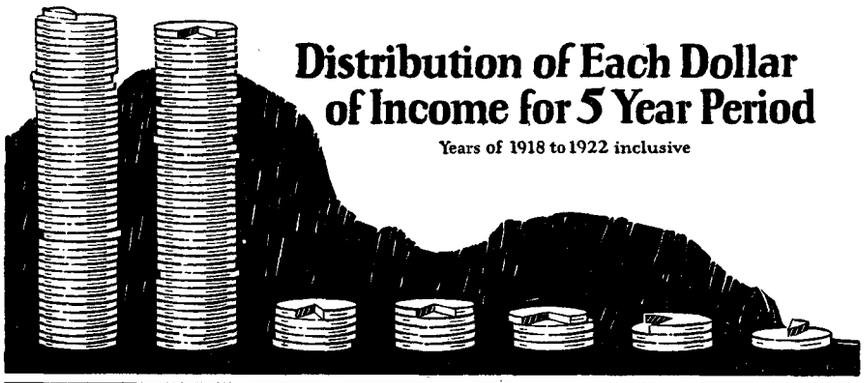
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